

**NOMINATION OF MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT  
TO BE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

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Y 4. F 76/2: S. HRG. 103-24

Nomination of Madeleine K. Albright...

**HEARING**

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

**ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS**

**FIRST SESSION**

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**JANUARY 21, 1993**

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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(III)



# UNITED NATIONS NOMINATION

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 21, 1993

U.S. SENATE.  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:01 a.m. in room SH-216, Hart Senate Office Building, Hon. Claiborne Pell, chairman, presiding.

Present: Senators Pell, Sarbanes, Dodd, Kerry, Simon, Moynihan, Robb, Wofford, Feingold, Mathews, Helms, Lugar, Kassebaum, Jeffords, and Coverdell.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee on Foreign Relations will come to order.

We are delighted to welcome Dr. Madeleine Albright to our committee. She assumes a post as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations at an extraordinary time for that institution. Speaking as one who was present at the San Francisco conference which drafted the United Nations Charter, I well remember the high hopes, the aspirations that we had for the United Nations. But for 44 years, those hopes were frustrated by the cold war, they were on ice.

Now we see the United Nations serving as the peacemaker and the peacekeeper that the founders intended it to be. In the last 3 years, the United Nations has undertaken more peacekeeping operations than in the previous 44 years. The Security Council is now at the center of global decisionmaking on such key questions as Bosnia, Iraq, Cambodia, and Somalia. The U.N. has also assumed a legislative function which we did not fully anticipate when we were in San Francisco.

The environment, arms control, poverty, and commerce are global issues, and increasingly these issues are being addressed through treaties and directives passed by the General Assembly.

Dr. Albright comes to the post of American Ambassador to the U.N. extraordinarily well-prepared. She has a distinguished career both in academia and in Government, and always at the center of the policy debate. As President Clinton said when he announced the appointment, she has come full circle since she came to the United States as the daughter of the Czech Ambassador to the United Nations in 1948, and now is representing her adopted country, her country of choice, at the same institution.

I congratulate President Clinton on the appointment, and I am envious of the opportunity Dr. Albright now has to be present at the creation of a new world, and a world we had high hopes and aspirations for a short 44 years ago.

I turn to the ranking minority member.

Senator LUGAR. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I welcome Madeleine Albright as the nominee of President Clinton for the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

Likewise, I'd like to welcome our colleague, Senator Barbara Mikulski, our colleague Eleanor Holmes Norton in the House, and our dear friend Senator Ed Muskie, distinguished Secretary of State in his own right, who left our committee to take that role at a momentous meeting President Carter had with the committee in the cabinet room. So you are in good hands, Ambassador Albright, as you come before us this morning.

I join the chairman in mentioning the very strong feelings this committee has, as well as its individual members, for the United Nations, the potential for the United Nations not only in world peacekeeping, and maybe in peacemaking, but likewise in the strengthening of our own foreign policy.

As you have expressed in public and private remarks, there is strong reason for thinking through the ways the United Nations groups and institutions could be strengthened. Particularly, the interplay between our Government and, maybe even more importantly, popular opinion in our country, so that your ambassadorship may go both ways as it relates to over 150 nations with whom you will have personal contact through the ambassadors, and through our administration, the Congress, and the grassroots of the country.

My feeling is that there is more receptivity in this country for a strengthened United Nations. That will probably be reflected in the votes in the Houses of Congress in the appropriation committees and then in the bodies as a whole.

As you have pointed out, as has President Clinton and President Bush before him, we are in arrears in our dues to the United Nations and to many of its functions, and that is not by chance. These are votes that have occurred, sometimes during foreign assistance debates in this committee or in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, sometimes on the floor.

There are tough choices in terms of priorities for our own national defense and our own peacekeeping activity, as well as for domestic needs here, and the case for these functions and payments will have to be made with eloquence and cogency.

But, I am pleased that you have been nominated. I have appreciated working with you on the board of the National Endowment for Democracy, and I would testify simply that your comprehensive knowledge of what is going on in the myriad of countries was manifest in those meetings and I am certain will be manifest in your service in New York.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much indeed. I think we will follow our usual pattern today of 10 minutes for questions from each Senator, and I would hope that the members might restrain themselves, unless they feel very oppressingly to either withhold their opening statements or say them within their timeframe.

I would now proceed to the sitting Senator from Maryland, Senator Mikulski. I believe she has a few words of introduction to say.

Senator MIKULSKI. I most certainly would, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to yield, however, to our senior Senator from Maine, a



fellow Polish American and a former Secretary of State, I believe to leadoff in introducing our distinguished nominee, and then I would like to follow him.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much for your courtesy, and I turn to my old friend, Senator Muskie.

**STATEMENT OF HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE AND FORMER U.S. SENATOR FROM MAINE**

Senator MUSKIE. Thank you, Barbara. Of course, I was not in the Senate to form a Polish bloc with you when you came to the Senate, but it is a pleasure to be joined with you this morning.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Lugar, we did not have digs quite this impressive when I was a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, but it is good to be back, and I feel very much at home.

It is indeed my pleasure—am I speaking loudly enough?

The CHAIRMAN. A little closer, if you can.

Senator MUSKIE. All right. Thank you. I cannot believe that my voice has gotten weaker in the last 12 years. I will do my best to be heard.

It is indeed my pleasure to join these distinguished women on my left and right—I am in a good minority—to introduce President Clinton's nominee to be the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, Dr. Madeleine Korbelt Albright.

I have known Madeleine for 25 years. She was an internal part of my campaign for President of the United States. She was my senior foreign policy advisor in my Senate office. She was my colleague when she worked on the National Security Council in the Carter administration, and most importantly through all these years she has been my friend.

Most recently, I have had the pleasure of working with Madeleine in her role as president of the Center for National Policy. She has provided leadership, initiative, and insight unique to that organization because of her background in foreign policy matters.

She has been instrumental on center projects and center efforts devoted to understanding and formulating options with respect to Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia. She has at the same time maintained the center as a vibrant, recognized organization on pressing domestic policy issues.

Relations among nations, and as a consequence the role of the United Nations, has been fundamentally transformed since I came before this committee to win your consent to my own appointment as Secretary of State, and I guess I should thank you once again after the fact this morning.

For a third of the century, the ideological antagonism the Soviet bloc bore against the liberal democracies arrested the development of the United Nations into the strong agency for world peace and progress envisioned by Americans from Franklin Roosevelt to today.

Paralyzed by obstructionist vetoes, the Security Council, the U.N.'s most powerful weapon and organ, failed to fulfill its mission to safeguard the peace. The one niche it could carve out was U.N. peacekeeping, putting noncombatant forces between warring parties when those parties decided it suited their interests to stop fighting.

The world's pressing economic and social problems were the subject of often sterile debate marred by propaganda slogans and finger-pointing about responsibility. With the swelling bloc of impoverished developing countries trying to seek their own best advantage in playing East and West against each other, the U.N. was widely dismissed as a talk shop. So much so that in 1987 the president of Iran, of all people, could go before the General Assembly and deride it as, quote, a paper factory for issuing worthless and ineffective orders.

No more. With the disappearance of a hostile Soviet Union, the frameworks established in 1945 have suddenly proved more workable, supple, and effective. In the past few years, the Security Council has responded with flexibility to a wide range of threats to peace, from blatant aggression by Iraq—to ethnic war in a decomposing Yugoslav Federation to anarchy in Somalia.

U.N. human rights processes whose development we nurtured in the face of some adverse criticism in the late seventies have become the most universally acknowledged vehicle for holding oppressive regimes accountable before the world community for their abuses, and through the United Nations the world community is coming to grips with some of the most dangerous threats to human security, the world's staggering environmental problems, international narcotics problems, deepening poverty.

Mr. Chairman, this is a unique moment for me in another way. When I served as Secretary of State for President Carter, I would almost daily receive personal notes from the President admonishing me to find talented women to place in high policy office. I was not in the administration long enough to meet that challenge adequately, so it is especially rewarding to be able to recommend Madeleine to you not just because of her competence, but because she will be the first woman appointed by a Democratic President to hold the post of Ambassador to the United Nations.

She will be the highest ranking woman with Cabinet status on the Clinton administration foreign policy team. She will demonstrate without question that there is no reason to make gender distinctions with respect to matters of foreign and security policy.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for the opportunity to present Madeleine to this committee on which I sat twice during my Senate service. I want to thank Madeleine for her invitation to make this presentation, and I want to thank President Clinton for his sagacity and courage in naming Dr. Madeleine Corbel Albright as this Nation's Ambassador to the United Nations. This is a proud day for her, and most proud day for me.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much indeed, Senator Muskieski, and I would now turn to the Senator from Maryland, Senator Mikulski.

#### **STATEMENT OF HON. BARBARA MIKULSKI, U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator MIKULSKI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and colleagues on the committee. I was eager to volunteer to come and join with my other colleagues to present Dr. Madeleine Albright to this committee. The fact that you see three of us is not because Dr.

Albright needs three people to introduce her, but I think is a testimony to our enthusiasm over this nomination.

I am enthused because I believe that Dr. Albright brings to the post of the U.N. Ambassador keen intellectual ability, character, and an understanding of really what this new world is all about. When one thinks of the post of an ambassador, we always think of the job responsibility assigned by the President to go forth in various posts around the world to advocate the policies of the United States of America, and I believe Dr. Albright will do that with forthrightness and an ability and a commitment called upon, really, by the President.

But she will do something else as our Ambassador to the U.N. and our Ambassador abroad in the world. She will also bring a story of America to people from the old world order as well as the new and emerging one.

Dr. Albright is the daughter of the last Ambassador from a free Czechoslovakia until before the end of the cold war. While her father was in this country, Czechoslovakia fell to a dictatorship and he defected and remained behind to really feel that he could serve a free Czechoslovakia by being in a free United States of America and working in exile.

A father who believed in the value of the education of his daughter, he saw to her needs, as she moved along. We have seen that Dr. Albright has a keen understanding of the opportunity structure that the United States of America provides, and that is why she is so committed to what democratic institutions mean.

She also knows what it means to lose a home to a dictatorship, and therefore she reaches out to others in the world who experience that same pain. She will understand that, and for those who labor tirelessly in exile to reclaim that, she will understand that.

Dr. Albright is very much a product of the United States of America. In addition to her dazzling intellectual accomplishments of scholarship in the world of academia, she has been very closely involved with the social movements and actions and passions of the United States of America.

Whether it was the civil rights movement that I know my friend Congresswoman Norton will talk about, the womens movement, or those social movements that help transform institutions into a democracy, is what Dr. Albright has grasped, and I think will be able to show as she moves around the U.N. about what really transforms the world, because the world is not changed only by treaty and by law.

Cultural and global transformation I actually believe occurs through social movements institutionalized in a positive way that will create international ideals into pragmatic action.

She will come to the United Nations with the distinguished career of other Americans. I think she will bring the kind of superb innovation characterized by our first Ambassador, Adlai Stevenson.

I think she will bring what Eleanor Roosevelt did when Eleanor Roosevelt organized the other Ambassadors at the U.N., to include women, in the declaration of human rights that all women were created of equal value, the sense of history of a Dan Moynihan, a sense of what it means to have been a minority position in this so-

ciety like Andrew Young and yet represent the majority of the United States of America.

Like Jeanne Kirkpatrick will be speaking of the United States, she will remind us of the needs and interests of the majority of the world citizens, that half the world is really held up by the work and toil of women in Third World countries.

So I think that when Madeleine Albright goes to the U.N. she will sit in the Security Council and be as tough-minded and as firm as any of her predecessors, but she will understand those new institutions, because she understands the story of America as well as the policies of Bill Clinton, and I am honored to bring her before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much indeed, Senator Mikulski. Representative Norton, we are glad to hear from you.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON, DELEGATE TO THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

Representative NORTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. It is a special pleasure for me, as well, to introduce to the committee this morning Dr. Madeleine Albright.

Madeleine is a rare person and a rarer woman. She is, I say, a rare person because she brings a combination of personal and professional attributes that have won her many friends and even more admirers.

I say she is a rare woman because she has excelled in the rarefied world of international affairs and foreign policy, and, Mr. Chairman, Madeleine did it the hard way, by steeping herself intellectually and then going out and proving that she could do it.

Madeleine's academic side and her work as an intellectual is complemented by her real world policy work in ways that make her in many ways the perfect nominee for this post. She has classic academic grounding, continuing work throughout her professional life as an intellectual and professor in the field, and the best hands-on experience in both the legislative and the executive branches.

As president of the Center for National Policy, the source to which many look for deep policy thinking, Madeleine showed a keen understanding of domestic as well as international affairs.

Mr. Chairman, Madeleine understands our country, and she understands the world. I will sleep better at night knowing that Madeleine is in charge.

Finally, I do not speak of Madeleine's attributes abstractly. She is not only a friend and a colleague, but I have known her as a worthy opponent of sorts. After the 1988 campaign, Jesse Jackson approached me and asked me to negotiate the democratic platform with the Dukakis team. Madeleine and I hammered out platform planks ultimately acceptable to both camps. That was not done without some disagreement on points. Madeleine, however, was always willing and able—and I stress able—to find a way. Not easy, given what was at stake.

Madeleine is, Mr. Chairman, no easy mark. She is a very tough lady who negotiated with a velvet rather than a boxing glove, but the lady can punch, Mr. Chairman. As one who has both taught

and written about negotiation, I know a superb one when I see one and when I have negotiated with one.

Our country will be particularly fortunate to have a person of Madeleine's particular background at a time when a central challenge of our foreign policy is to rethink and rebuild our policy toward Central Europe and the countries of the old Soviet Union.

Madeleine Albright has it all, gentlemen and lady—the full house of skills and experience and judgment it will take at a time when the United Nations is the key arena for staging much of United States foreign policy. I am pleased to strongly recommend her to you this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much indeed.

We have been joined by the permanent ranking minority member—not permanent forever and ever, but for this Congress at least—Senator Helms.

Senator HELMS. Mr. Chairman, thank you very very much. It is very good to see you, Mr. former Senator, Secretary of State, and all the rest of the things you have been. You look well. Do you feel well?

Mr. MUSKIE. Oh, fine, good, good. And I know you always feel healthy.

Senator HELMS. Pardon?

Mr. MUSKIE. And I know you always feel healthy.

Senator HELMS. Well, most of the time I am blessed. You know, there are three young ladies in the audience that I would like to present if it all right with you, Dr. Albright. Anne Albright, where is she? Gee whiz. Alice Albright and Katy Albright. I have a granddaughter named Katy and she is pretty too. Well, we welcome you here.

Dr. Albright, you have impressive credentials and I am delighted to see or hear the lady say that you are a tough negotiator, because I want to make some recommendations to you along the line, and perhaps not all of them this morning, but down the line I hope we will be in communication.

Senator SIMON. I wonder if I could get my colleague to yield for 30 seconds.

Senator HELMS. 35 seconds if you need it.

Senator SIMON. All right. Unfortunately, we have a more controversial nominee in another committee on which I serve and we are meeting right now, and I just wanted to put in an appearance and say I have great confidence in Dr. Albright.

Senator HELMS. Be my guest.

Senator SIMON. I appreciate it and I thank my colleague for yielding.

Senator HELMS. Is that all you are going to say?

Senator SIMON. That is all I am going to say.

Senator HELMS. This is a new record. [Laughter.]

Paul Simon is my neighbor on the main floor of the Dirksen Building, and I like Mrs. Simon better than I do him, but I like him all right too.

As I was saying, you have impressive credentials and you have obviously done a lot of thinking about foreign policy, and I have heard you emphasize the importance of American interest. And I have been gratified, frankly, Dr. Albright, to hear you do that be-

cause I belong to the old school. If anybody wants to call me an American firster, I am. And in addition to that, I was in Herman Talmadge's school of thought when he said that there ought to be an American desk at the State Department.

In any case, in this troubled world there are growing numbers of people who are persuaded that the United Nations—and I am afraid sometimes that they really mean the United States—can solve all problems everywhere. Now I do not want anybody to misunderstand me. The United States does have a role to play, but we cannot be everywhere and we cannot do everything.

So what we must always have uppermost in our minds, and certainly you in the important capacity into which you are going as the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, is this; am I promoting American ideals and American interests.

Now, I can suggest a couple of things off the top of my head that you can do for the American people. One, you can save the American taxpayers millions of dollars by battling, and it will be a battle, to end the incredible waste and fraud that everybody knows is extant at the United Nations.

I wonder, for example, how many U.S. taxpayers know that the United States puts up 25 percent of the United Nations budget. I do not think they do. And that pays for more than 50,000 United Nations employees worldwide, 14,000 of them in New York City alone.

And I also wonder if they know that of the \$2,400,000,000—that is right, \$2.4 billion to be spent by the UN Secretariat in New York over the next fiscal year, at least 70 percent will go for salaries.

Now the second thing, you can ensure that no matter what we agree to do under the United Nations umbrella, no matter how popular the concept of peacekeeping is or may become, you can ensure that no American soldier is ever commanded by anyone other than another American. And I think the new President of the United States has taken that position and I hope he sticks by it.

Now last week Secretary of State-designate Warren Christopher endorsed the idea of a standing United Nations army with a permanent contingent of U.S. troops so that, and let me quote him, the United Nations can go into situations and not leave it to the United States to be the action officer. Now on the face of it that sounds pretty good, but when you talk about UN armies and UN foreign policy, I find a bit of trouble in that.

So, obviously, does a UN army mean that if the U.N. Secretary General decides to send American men and women into Haiti or into Bosnia or let us say the West Bank, do our soldiers have to go? Does it mean American troops would be under foreign command? Unequivocally, Madam Ambassador, the answer I think must be no.

Now whether we are talking about foreign policy or domestic policy, I have always believed that if action is in our national interest we should act. Not if our allies want us to it, not if some interest group wants us to do it, but if it is the right thing for America, we ought to do it, and that must be the test.

Now let us not pretend that the United Nations is something it is not. A lot of pretense like that is made. The United Nations is not a world government that speaks democratically for the best in-

terest of everyone. The United Nations is a building where nations gather to talk and talk and talk and talk and then pass the collection plate to pay for it all.

Which brings me to my other point. We, the United States that is, put a heck of a lot more into that collection plate than anybody else, as I have already indicated, and we get ripped off a lot more than anybody else. In 1991 the United Nations system spent more than \$10 billion, and according to the Library of Congress the United States put in nearly \$1,600,000 of that money and I am told that we still owe the United Nations more than \$300 million which this administration has pledged to pay up.

As I mentioned, the United States—and by that I mean the American taxpayer, because this government has no money, no money or any prospect of any money that has not been first taken from the American Taxpayer.

The new U.N. Secretary General, bless his heart, and we have some mutual friends in Paris, had this to say about his own organization. There are thousands of staff, meaning members, and then he said half of them do not work. Now, that is not Jesse Helms, that is the U.N. Secretary General.

Now, Madam Ambassador, I am going to hasten to conclude, but among the many areas of U.N. activities begging for oversight is peacekeeping. And here I commend Senator Pressler; he is one of the few who has been urging this for years.

Peacekeeping operations cost about \$2.7 billion last year and more than 30 percent of that was put on the U.S. tab. No one checks on how the money is being spent, and I am told that the \$1.7 billion U.N. peacekeeping operation in Cambodia spends more on newspaper subscriptions than it does on auditors.

There is another problem too. These operations never die; they do not even begin to fade away. U-N-T-S-O, UNTSO, or however they pronounce it, an abbreviation, the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization, has been in the Middle East since 1948 at a cost of \$31 million. Can anyone say what they do? I have not had anybody to explain what they do except sit there and cash their checks.

Dr. Albright, I will leave out the rest of it and put it in the record, but a lot of those U.N. bureaucrats with whom you are going to be working are wasting the money of the taxpayers of America, and I trust you are going to do something about it.

Right now all the talk is about more missions, more money, and more members of the Security Council, and what I hope we will hear one of these days is less for a change—less money, less staff, less graft—and I hope to hear it before the new administration asks this committee to authorize another additional cent for the United Nations.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. We now come to the piece de resistance, Dr. Albright, and we look forward very much to hearing from you.

I thought Senator Muskie might care to come up and join his old colleagues on the committee. And Senator Biden cannot be with us this morning because he is tied up in the Judiciary nomination, but asked me to say that he supports Dr. Albright's nomination in the strongest possible terms.

Mr. MUSKIE. I would not want to feel too important by going up there.

The CHAIRMAN. He can think of no one who has a better combination of skills. So I suggest we move on now to the statement of Dr. Albright.

**STATEMENT OF MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT, NOMINEE FOR U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would also like to thank Senator Muskie for that fantastic introduction. He has been with me at every important juncture in my life, so it was most appropriate that he introduced me today.

Senator Barbara Mikulski is someone whom I admire a great deal. Her role in all the activities in the U.S. Senate and in the United States are a model for us all. And Congressman Norton is, I think, a fantastic legislator, a good opponent, and my Representative in the United States Congress. So I am very grateful that she is here today.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Helms, and distinguished members of the committee, I am most honored to appear before you today as President Clinton's nominee to be the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations. At this time of turmoil and hope, this assignment is a major challenge.

When the President announced my appointment last month, he said that in his administration the post of Ambassador to the United Nations will be one of the most critical foreign policy positions. He said that never before in its history has the United Nations faced greater challenges or opportunities. With the end of the cold war, the United Nations is poised to play a central and positive role for peace. He also said that his Representative at the United Nations must understand how to seize these challenges and how to direct America's leadership to promote and advance our goals.

The position of the American Representative at the United Nations is strengthened greatly when the President indicates his full support so clearly.

The role of the U.S. Permanent Representative at the United Nations is also strengthened when it has the support of Congress. Many of you know that I spent a number of years up here working for a great chairman, Senator Muskie. I also spent three years on the National Security Council staff, coordinating legislation and working with many of you and your staffs.

I respect the role of Congress in the foreign policy making process. And, in fact, many of my friends say that I have a Hill perspective.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, Secretary of State Warren Christopher spoke with you last week about the three pillars of the Clinton administration foreign policy: economic security, military strength, and promoting democracy and free markets abroad. These are the themes that then candidate Clinton enunciated so frequently during the campaign, and again at Georgetown University on Monday.

It will be the duty of those of us involved in the conduct of the administration's foreign policy to make sure that the President's goals are carried out. I believe that each of them can and will be



pursued at the United Nations. In fact, they are compatible with the changing priorities of that institution in the fields of collective security, humanitarian relief, sustainable development, and the promotion of democracy.

History will record that the end of the cold war has marked a new beginning for the United Nations. Every day we witness the United Nations taking on the most intractable problems of the new era. We should take great pride in the accomplishments of Ambassadors Pickering and Perkins during the last four years and the positive contributions of the Bush administration.

The United Nations is on the verge of becoming the institution that its founders foresaw in 1945. With essential American support, the United Nations is useful, it is at the center of debate, and it is working to build peace and security in a fractured world.

The growing scope of the United Nations' efforts is truly remarkable. Today more than 50,000 peacekeepers participate in 13 peacekeeping and observer missions ranging from Somalia and Cambodia to the former Yugoslavia. Eight of these 13 missions have been launched since 1989.

The United Nations is also helping to promote democracy and defend human rights in Central America, Africa, and Asia. The new U.N. Commission on Sustainable Development will oversee an ambitious global environmental agenda.

One dramatic way to measure increased United Nations activity is to note that last year the Security Council met more than twice as often as the previous year, and adopted 74 resolutions, 32 more than in 1991. And may I say that none of those resolutions were frivolous.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am firmly convinced that today we are witnessing the best chance for fulfilling the United Nations' original mission. Written in 1945, the charter calls upon us to join with the peoples of the United Nations:

To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war \* \* \* to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights \* \* \* to establish conditions under which justice and respect for \* \* \* international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Those who wrote the charter were ahead of their time. We not only need to fulfill their dreams, but also to make this international organization face the challenges of the next century. And if we do not do it today, we may not have another opportunity.

As I appear here today before you for my confirmation hearing, it is not good enough for me to show only how important the United Nations is to us. It is also important for you to know that I see the imperfections and the many problems of the institution. The United Nations remains bogged down by an unwieldy and inefficiently administered staff, overlapping responsibilities, and a financial crisis.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, a tireless diplomat for peace, sees the problems. If more and more nations are inclined to say, "Let the U.N. do it," and at the same time do not push for comprehensive reform and build a sound financial base, then the United Nations stands in peril of collapsing under the weight of the new burdens placed upon it.

The United States must be fully engaged in bringing the United Nations into the 21st century. Many of you have led the fight for reform. And I intend to continue working with you very hard to achieve the efficiency you have called for in the organization's work.

I must say, however, that there is a fine line between the leverage gained by withholding funds in anticipation of reform, and losing credibility because you owe so much money. The time has arrived to pay our outstanding obligations to the United Nations and enable it to bear the burdens of the multilateral era.

As a professor of international relations and president for the Center for National Policy, I have spent a great deal of time describing and analyzing the past. Our 45-year struggle with communism is over. Ironically, there was much more certainty in that period than there is about the current one. There is even less certainty about the future. Perhaps this is why we are having such a hard time naming the new period and keep referring to it as the post-cold war era.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is time to think of this period more in terms of where we are going than where we have been. We should feel ourselves privileged to be among those who will be defining the role of the United States in a historical period, comparable to the other great watershed times when new international systems were created, such as in 1815, 1918, and 1945.

As we look at what must be done in 1993, we face two dynamic and seemingly contradictory forces. On the one hand, there are powerful forces of integration. However, arrayed against these forces of integration are the forces of fragmentation and division. The dual challenge of this new era is how to harness the emerging realization that nations must cooperate to solve common problems and use that cooperative spirit to curb the excesses of long suppressed nationalism.

While we Americans are in many respects guardians of the principle of self-determination, we also bear special responsibility for international peace and security. It will be at the United Nations that we either fuse these two challenges into a more peaceful world, or lose the struggle and set ourselves adrift in a chaotic one.

The other challenge we face is to make sure that the work of the United Nations is not isolated from our domestic agenda, for it impinges so directly on Americans daily lives. So I join with Secretary Christopher in assuring you that we will work to explain the stakes of our foreign policy to the American people in an effort to make foreign policy less foreign.

While the United Nations is a very important part of all our lives, for me, the United Nations has an even more personal connection. As I said in Little Rock a few weeks ago, my family would not have been in the United States had it not been for the United Nations.

My father, a Czechoslovak diplomat, was a member of the first United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan. Shortly after he was chosen for that post in February 1948, there was a communist coup in Czechoslovakia. My mother, sister, and brother, who are also here with me today, and I came to the United States. And while our father travelled in India and Pakistan and Kashmir,

we came to the United States. He completed his work and then he joined us.

Shortly thereafter, he asked for political asylum. And thanks to the generosity of the American people, we had an opportunity to grow up as free Americans.

The fact remains that I am literally a child of the cold war. Born in Czechoslovakia, I came to this country because my parents realized that life under communism was intolerable. I, therefore, as much as anyone, celebrated the fall of the Berlin Wall, and most especially the Velvet Revolution of Vaclav Havel. But ever since 1989, I have spoken often about the danger of sitting on our laurels.

The end of the cold war has resulted in historic arms control agreements, and most especially START II. The people of the United States feel much safer. But the problem is that for many of those living in other countries, the world is a more dangerous place. I believe that this generation has an inescapable responsibility to build a peaceful world and to put an end to the abominable injustices and conditions that still plague civilization at the advent of the 21st century: aggression against nations, genocide, famine, ethnic cleansing, mass torture and rape, vast upheavals of people, environmental degradation, pervasive discrimination against and oppression of women and children, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the denial of real freedom to so many.

And while President Clinton has reminded us that America cannot and should not bear the world's burdens alone, he also believes that the Gulf conflict and the humanitarian relief operation in Somalia demonstrate the best of what the United Nations' founders had in mind 48 years ago: with our international partners, we have confronted aggression by outlaw governments and restored hope to those in need.

Members of the committee, there is another kind of partnership I want to touch on today. As I visited with many of you, a process which I have enjoyed thoroughly, I was reassured by your comments and your agreement that this is a crucial period for the United Nations and thus for all of us.

If confirmed, I intend to strengthen the ties between the United Nations and Congress by opening my offices in New York and Washington to you, by inviting as many of you as possible to New York, perhaps as delegates, or to observe the work that is going on there. I plan to build cooperative relations between our staffs. I will consider getting your advice and criticism to be an integral part of my job.

As a member of President Clinton's Cabinet, I will weigh in with my own view during White House deliberations, but knowing your views will be an essential factor in my own decisionmaking process, and in the advice that I give the President.

At the time of the founding of the United Nations, our foreign policy was characterized by bipartisanship. And as I listened to your opening statements and questions during Secretary Christopher's hearing, I was struck by the historic significance of that session. Although it was possible to note some disagreement, there was remarkable agreement on the major issues of the day.

We have an exceptional opportunity to forge a strong and much needed bipartisan policy for the years ahead.

I hope and expect to appear before you frequently. I am sure that you will continue to ask me how our money is spent, and I will continue to ask you to pay our bills. I can assure you that I will not only get whatever information you want, but I will also push for the necessary reforms. But most of all be assured that, as I vote in the Security Council, converse with other delegates, and travel the country to explain the policies of the United Nations to the American people, I will always be the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, and not the United Nations Ambassador to the United States. In other words, I will not succumb to that disease known as clientitis.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, in my years out of government, I have theorized about the role that the United States can and should play during this crucial period. The power we have had as a Nation comes from our ability to look into the future and to be on the side of change. We need to harness this power today for our work at the United Nations. I am very aware of the enormous challenges that lie ahead.

President Clinton has called for a new covenant with the American people. I believe we should work to extend his vision and call for a new covenant among nations, one that recognizes and respects the diversity of the world in which we live, as well as our common needs and aspirations. With your help, we can succeed in building that new covenant.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement and resume of Dr. Albright follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

Mr. Chairman, Senator Helms, and distinguished members of the Foreign Relations Committee. I am most honored to appear before you today as President Clinton's nominee to be the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations. At this time of turmoil and hope, this assignment is a major challenge.

When the President announced my appointment last month he said that in his administration the post of ambassador to the United Nations will be one of the most critical foreign policy positions. He said that never before in its history has the United Nations faced greater challenges or opportunities. With the end of the Cold War the United Nations is poised to play a central and positive role for peace. He also said that his representative at the United Nations must understand how to seize these challenges and how to direct America's leadership to promote and advance our goals.

The position of the American representative to the United Nations is strengthened greatly when the President indicates his full support so clearly.

The role of the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations is also strengthened when it has the support of Congress. Many of you know that I spent a number of years on the Hill working for a great Chairman, Senator Edmund S. Muskie. I also spent three years on the National Security Council staff, coordinating legislation and working with many of you and your staffs. I respect the role of Congress in the foreign policy making process. In fact, I am known among my friends as having a "Hill perspective."

#### NEW BEGINNINGS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee: Secretary of State Warren Christopher spoke with you last week about the three pillars of the Clinton Administration's foreign policy: economic security, military strength, and promoting democracy and free markets abroad. These are themes that the President enunciated frequently during the campaign, and again at Georgetown University on Monday. It will be the duty of those of us involved in the conduct of the Administration's foreign policy to make sure that the President's goals are carried out. I believe that

each of them can and will be pursued at the United Nations. In fact, they are compatible with the changing priorities of that institution in the fields of collective security, humanitarian relief, sustainable development, and the promotion of democracy.

History will record that the end of the Cold War has marked a new beginning for the United Nations. Every day we witness the United Nations taking on the most intractable problems of the new era. We should take great pride in the accomplishments of Ambassadors Pickering and Perkins during the last four years and the positive contributions of the Bush Administration. The United Nations is on the verge of becoming the institution its founders foresaw in 1945. With essential American support, the United Nations is useful, it is at the center of the debate, and it is working to build peace and security in a fractured world.

The growing scope of the United Nations' efforts is truly remarkable. Today more than 50,000 U.N. peacekeepers participate in 13 peacekeeping and observer missions, ranging from Somalia and Cambodia to the former Yugoslavia. Eight of the 13 missions have been launched since 1989.

The United Nations is also helping to promote democracy and defend human rights in Central America, Africa, and Asia. The new U.N. Commission on Sustainable Development will oversee an ambitious global environmental agenda.

One dramatic way to measure increased United Nations activity is to note that last year, the Security Council met more than twice as often as the previous year, and adopted 74 resolutions, 32 more than in 1991. The record shows that none of these resolutions was frivolous.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: I am firmly convinced that today we are witnessing the best chance of fulfilling the United Nations' original mission. Written in 1945, the Charter calls upon us to join with the peoples of the United Nations "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war \* \* \* to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights \* \* \* to establish conditions under which justice and respect \* \* \* for international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

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As I appear here today for my confirmation hearings, it is not good enough for me to show only how important the United Nations is to us. It is also important for you to know that I see the imperfections and many problems of the institution. The United Nations remains bogged down by an unwieldy and inefficiently administered staff, overlapping responsibilities, and a financial crisis. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, an indefatigable diplomat for peace, sees the problems. If more and more nations are inclined to say, "Let the U.N. do," and at the same time do not push comprehensive reform and build a sound financial base, then the United Nations stands in peril of collapsing under the weight of the new burdens placed on it.

The United States must be fully engaged in bringing the United Nations into the 21st Century. Many of you have led the fight for United Nations reform, and I intend to continue working hard to achieve the efficiency you have called for in the organization's work. I must say, however, that there is a fine line between the beverage gained by withholding funds in anticipation of reform, and losing credibility because you owe so much money. The time has arrived to pay our outstanding obligations to the United Nations and enable it to bear the burdens of this multilateral era.

#### THE CHALLENGE AHEAD

As a professor of international relations and president of the Center for National Policy, I have spent a great deal of time describing and analyzing the past. We all know how much harder it is to predict. Our 45-year struggle with communism is over. Ironically, there was much more certainty in that period than there is about the current one. There is even less certainty about the future. Perhaps this is why we are having such a hard time naming the new period and keep referring to the post-Cold War era. I think it is time to think of this period more in terms of where we are going than where we have been. We should feel ourselves privileged to be among those who will be defining the role for the United States in a historical period, comparable to other great watershed times when new international systems were created, such as in 1815, 1918, and 1945.

As we look at what must be done in 1993, we face two dynamic and seemingly contradictory forces: On the one hand, there are powerful forces of integration: the growth of trade, the explosion of information, communications, and technology, all of which break down traditional barriers and build new links among peoples. Even some of the contemporary problems dealing with the global environment, nuclear

weapons proliferation, disease, narcotics trafficking, and large-scale migrations contribute to this growing sense of interdependence. We realize increasingly that solutions require common and cooperative efforts that individual nations alone cannot provide.

Arrayed against these forces of integration are the forces of fragmentation and division. Some of these developments come from heart-felt and sincere desires for ethnic, cultural, religious, or political self-expression. We have seen that many peoples object to living in what many of them consider to be artificial countries. They object to being told how to run their lives either by genuinely authoritarian governments or by less venal but equally stifling and centrally controlled bureaucratic regimes.

The dual challenge of this new era is how to harness the emerging realization that nations must cooperate to solve common problems, and use that cooperative spirit to curb the excesses of long-suppressed nationalism. While we Americans are in many respects guardians of the principle of self-determination, we also bear special responsibility for international peace and security. It will be at the United Nations that we either fuse these two challenges into a more peaceful world, or lose the struggle and set ourselves adrift in a chaotic one.

The other challenge we face is to make sure that the work of the United Nations is not isolated from our domestic agenda. The activities of the United Nations impinge on Americans' daily lives:

- The most obvious is when the Security Council authorized the use of "all necessary means" to repel Iraqi aggression and to protect the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the Somali people. American soldiers from your hometowns left their families and risked their lives to enforce the will of the United Nations.
- The United Nations' focus on environmental issues following the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro will have lasting influence on the formulation and implementation of our national environmental policies.
- We simply will not be able to respond effectively to refugee pressures on our borders—and those of our friends—without the help of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- The United Nations' work on economic development and population growth in the poorest countries of the world ultimately affects our own economy, our trading opportunities, and our bilateral foreign aid programs.
- UNICEF is providing emergency relief to children in the former Yugoslavia, Russia, Sudan, Romania, and Iraq.
- The immunization programs of both UNICEF and the World Health Organization are invaluable to global, and hence American, health priorities.
- And lest you think I have forgotten, I understand all too well that my request to you to pay our bills at the United Nations and the mounting costs of peacekeeping operations will compete with our already sizable deficit.

Any notion that the United Nations is an alien organization divorced from our domestic agenda is just plain wrong. And I join with Secretary Christopher in assuring you that we will work to explain the bakes of our foreign policy to the American people, in an effort to make foreign policy less foreign.

#### A PERSONAL NOTE

While the United Nations is a very important part of our lives in this country, for me the United Nations has an even more personal connection. As I said in Little Rock a few weeks ago, my family would not have been in the United States had it not been for the United Nations. My father, a Czechoslovak diplomat, was a member of the first United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan. Shortly after he was chosen for that post, in February 1948, there was a communist coup in Czechoslovakia. My mother, sister, brother, and I came to the United States, while our father travelled in India, Pakistan, and Kashmir. When he completed his work, he joined us. Shortly thereafter he asked for political asylum. Thanks to the generosity of the American people, we grew up as free Americans.

The fact remains that I am literally a child of the Cold War. Born in Czechoslovakia, I came to this country because my parents realized that life under communism was intolerable. It therefore, as much as anyone celebrated the fall of the Berlin Wall, and most especially the Velvet Revolution of Vaclav Havel. But ever since 1989, I have spoken often about the danger of sitting on our laurels.

The end of the Cold War has resulted in historic arms control agreements, most especially START II. The people of the United States feel much safer. But the problem is that for many of those living in other countries the world is more dangerous. I believe that this generation has an inescapable responsibility to build a peaceful world and to put an end to the abominable injustices and conditions that still plague

civilization at the advent of the 21st century: aggression against nations, genocide, famine, "ethnic cleansing," mass torture and rape, vast upheavals of peoples, environmental degradation, pervasive discrimination against and oppression of women and children, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the denial of real freedom to so many.

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#### BUILDING A PARTNERSHIP

There is another kind of partnership I want to touch on today. As I visited with many of you—a process which I enjoyed thoroughly—I was reassured by your comments and your agreement that this is a crucial period for the United Nations and thus for all of us.

If confirmed, I intend to strengthen the ties between the United Nations and Congress by opening my offices in New York and Washington to you, by inviting as many of you as possible to New York, perhaps as delegates or to observe the work that is going on. I plan to build cooperative relations between our staffs. I will consider getting your advice and criticism to be an integral part of my job. As a member of President Clinton's cabinet, I will weigh in with my own view during White House deliberations. But knowing your views will be an essential factor in my own decision making and in the advice I give the President.

At the time of the founding of the United Nations, our foreign policy was characterized by bipartisanship. As I listened to your opening statements and questions during Secretary Christopher's hearing, I was struck by the historic significance of that session. Although it was possible to note some disagreements, there was remarkable agreement on the major issues of the day. We have an exceptional opportunity to forge a strong and much needed bipartisan foreign policy for the years ahead.

I hope and expect to appear before you frequently. I am sure that I will continue to ask you to help pay our bills, and you will ask me how American taxpayers' money is being spent. I can assure you that I will not only get you the information, but also push for the necessary reforms. But most of all be assured, that as I vote in the Security Council, converse with other delegates, and travel the country to explain the policies of the United Nations to the American people, I will always be the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, and not the United Nations ambassador to the United States. In other words, I will not succumb to the disease known as clientitis.

#### CLOSING

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: In my years out of government, I have theorized about the role that the United States can and should play during this critical period. The power that we have had as a nation comes from our ability to look into the future and to be on the side of change. We need to harness this power today for our work at the United Nations. I am very aware of the enormous challenges that lie ahead.

President Clinton has called for a new covenant with the American people. I believe we should work to extend his vision and call for a new covenant among nations—one that recognizes the diversity of the world in which we live as well as our common needs and aspirations. With your help, we can succeed in building that new covenant.

Thank you very much.

#### BIOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

**Name.**—Madeleine Korbel Albright.

**Position for Which Considered.**—Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations.

**Present Position.**—President, Center for National Policy Research Professor of International Affairs and Director of Women in Foreign Service Program, Georgetown University.

**Legal Residence.**—Washington, D.C.

**Office Address.**—Center for National Policy, 317 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; and School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20057.

**Date and Place of Birth.**—May 15, 1937, Prague, Czechoslovakia.

**Home Address.**—1318 34th Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20007.

**Marital Status.**—Divorced.

**Names of Children.**—Anne Korbel, Alice Patterson, and Ratharine Medill.

**Education.**—Ph.D. Columbia University, Department of Public Law and Government, 1976; M.A., Columbia University, Department of Public Law and Government, 1968; Certificate, Russian Institute, Columbia University, 1968; School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 1962–63; and B.A., Wellesley College, with Honors in Political Science, 1959.

**Language Ability.**—French, Czech, Russian, and Polish.

**Military Experience.**—None applicable.

**Work Experience.**—1989 to present—President, Center for National Policy; 1982 to present—Research Professor of International Affairs and Director of Women in Foreign Service Program, Georgetown University; September 1981 to September 1982—Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; January 1981 to August 1981—Senior Fellow in Soviet and Eastern European Affairs, Center for Strategic and International Studies; 1978 to 1981—Staff Member, National Security Council and the White House; and 1976 to 1978—Chief Legislative Assistant, U.S. Senate Staff, Office of Senator Edmund S. Muskie.

**Memberships.**—Member, Council on Foreign Relations; Board Member, National Endowment for Democracy, 1991 to present; Board Member, International Media Fund, 1991 to present; Vice Chair, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs Washington, D.C., 1984–90; Member, Board of Directors, Atlantic Council of the United States, Washington, D.C., 1984 to present; Member, Board of Trustees, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Maine, 1983–89; Member, Board to Trustees, Black Student Fund, Washington, D.C., 1981 to present; Member, United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 1981; Member, Board of Trustees, Washington Urban League, Washington, D.C., 1981–84; Member, Board of Directors, Center for National Policy, Washington, D.C., 1981–89; Member, Chapter of the Washington National Cathedral, Washington, D.C., 1978–83; Member, Board of Trustees, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, 1978–82; Member, Board of Trustees, Democratic Forum, Washington, D.C., 1976–78; Member, Executive Committee, D.C. Citizens for Better Public Education, 1975–76; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Beauvoir School, Washington, D.C., 1972–76, (Member, Board 1968–76); American Political Science Association Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences in America; and American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.

**Selected Publications.**—*Poland, the Role of the Press in Political Change*, New York: Praeger with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 1983; *The Role of the Press in Political Change: Czechoslovakia 1968*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1976; "The Soviet Diplomatic Service: Profile of an Elite," Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1968; "The Glorious Revolutions of 1989." *The New Democratic Frontier: A Country by Country Report on Elections in Central and Eastern Europe*. National Democratic Institute, 1992; "The Role of the United States in Central Europe." A chapter in *The New Europe Revolution in East-West Relations.* The Academy of Political Science, 1991; "Helsinki and Human Rights." *The President, the Congress and Foreign Policy*. Ed. Edmund S. Muskie, Kenneth Rush and Kenneth Thompson, U.P.A. 1980; "The Soviet Diplomatic Service: Profile of an Elite." Masters thesis, Columbia University, 1968; "Zdenek Fierlinger: Portrait of a Fellow Traveler." Honors thesis, Wellesley College, 1959; "Taking the Democratic Pulse of the Former U.S.S.R." *The Harvard Journal of World Affairs*. Summer 1992; "The Pulse of Europe." *Economic Reform Today*, Winter 1992; and "U.S. Foreign Policy After the Gulf Crisis." *Survival*, November-December 1990.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, indeed, Dr. Albright.

We will now go into questions. We will limit ourselves to 10 minutes each. At the end of 10 minutes, the little red light will go on, and the bell will ring.

First, in connection with the no-fly zones in Iraq and Bosnia, have we opened ourselves up to a tilt of being anti-Muslim by enforcing the no-fly zone in Iraq but not enforcing it in Bosnia? What would be your view on that?



Dr. ALBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I think as we look at those two issues, we have to keep in mind that we should enforce the no-fly zones in both areas. These are very important United Nations resolutions, and I think that if we are going to give those resolutions teeth we should enforce the no-fly zones.

The CHAIRMAN. For many years, I know you have and I have supported the creation of a United Nations army or unit under control of the Security Council that could be deployed in trouble spots around the world. This idea is contained in article 43. And I am curious what the Clinton administration's view is.

I was very struck with President Bush's suggestion that such a unit could be trained in Fort Dix, I think it was, near the United Nations. And what is your view on that?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I also have my copy of the charter. I think that this is one of the areas that we need to really explore and think about how we use the various options that we have for fulfilling the promise of Article 43.

President Clinton has spoken about the importance of creating a rapid deployment force or a force that would be available to deal with problems. I know that many members of your committee have been very interested in how we can expand article 43 or give life to article 43.

I think that what we need to do is to make sure that our constitutional prerogatives are properly preserved and that we in fact see how we can create a way that the United Nations can have some teeth.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

What criteria will the Clinton administration use to decide whether to support the introduction of troops in an area?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I think we will have to see what the situation is in every situation. I think that what we need to do is to make sure human life is protected, ascertain the dangers involved and determine where our vital interests lay. But, again, every situation will be assessed separately.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

The United States is in the process of paying off its arrearages to the United Nations for its regular and peacekeeping budget. I was just curious what your thought was with regard to paying up. At the moment, we are the largest deadbeat country going. And I think other countries are catching up with us. I believe Russia is falling behind very rapidly.

Do you have any thoughts as to how we can tighten up the budgetary process?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I think a number of us have noted the problems of not having paid some of our bills at the United Nations and this is something Secretary Christopher has also spoken about. I have been struck, in going over the figures of our debts, by the fact that we contribute \$1 per American to the United Nations budget. Our contribution represents 25 percent of the budget, but it is \$1 per American. And I think that is a wise way to spend money.

The total budget, the total U.S. budget to the United Nations is \$1.1 billion—the cost of one B-2 bomber. And, again, I view that as very good value for our money.

We are going to look at various ways to pay up the arrearages. There are any number of suggestions. And I will be working with the director of OMB. I am very cognizant of the fact that we have our own deficit, and we must be sure that as we pay our bills, it does not hurt the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. On another subject quite removed, the Law of the Sea, will that come under your jurisdiction at all, the hoped for resumption of negotiations at Kingston, Jamaica?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. The Law of the Sea is an issue with which I am familiar, thanks to my work with Senator Muskie, who was an advisor to that commission. I was very disturbed that we walked away from that treaty, having spent many years, really, negotiating it. There are still parts that need to be resolved having to do with deep seabed mining, but I think that I will have something to do with it. And I hope that we are able to pursue it.

The CHAIRMAN. Good.

At the United Nations Conference on the Environment, the United States and other participants endorsed the concept of sustainable development through the adoption of, I think it was, agenda 21. What do you see as the mandate for moving ahead in that direction?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I think the main advantage is that the problems that have to do with the environment are certainly not able to be dealt with unilaterally; that particular commission will have the opportunity of bringing American environmental policies to bear on those of other countries, and that it will be part of a global effort to improve our environment.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I have no further questions at this time. I now turn to the ranking member, Senator Helms.

Senator HELMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Do you favor the Law of the Sea Treaty unmodified?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I think that something has to be done to make sure that our interests are protected.

Senator HELMS. Does that mean that unless until it is modified, you do not favor it?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. It is not completed, so that is true.

Senator HELMS. I beg your pardon?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. The negotiations have not been completed.

Senator HELMS. Oh, I understand that.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. So, I think it is premature, but I do believe that it has to reflect American interests.

Senator HELMS. All right. That is a good answer. That satisfies both of us for the time being. There are some things that the chairman and I have to agree to disagree agreeably on. He is the finest chairman with whom I have served. And I do not mean any derogation to the other chairmen, but he is a good guy.

Now, let me get back to a question that I raised in my statement. There are some people, maybe more than I think—I do not know about that. I have not taken any poll. But there are some, including members of this committee who favor a standing U.N. army with a permanent contingent of United States troops.

Now I think, or at least I hope I made myself clear, that I do not like that idea very much, and I do not think the majority of the American people like it. But Dick Cheney—and I imagine you

have the same respect for Dick that I do, even though we are in different parties and all that good stuff.

He said, we do not want that most solemn of sovereign responsibilities of the government or the most significant responsibility of the President to be delegated to any international organization. That is a pretty concise statement.

Now, I am aware that the new Secretary of State and others in the Clinton administration embraced the idea and we may end up having some of our service men and women permanently assigned to a United Nations army. I will regret it, but I recognize the reality of the possibility, if not the probability of that.

In such a situation, I am obviously concerned that a fairly broad interpretation of Security Council resolutions could mean that our troops—as the saying goes, American boys and girls—could be sent into combat without the explicit prior approval of the President of the United States, and the Congress of the United States.

Now, I hope I can think of some ways that can be taken care of, and I am sure you can too. What I would like to have from you is an assurance that you are going to do everything in your power to ensure that that does not happen; that our troops will be sent into combat without any say-so by the President or the Congress of the United States.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator Helms, I understand your concerns, and I assure you that the administration will work very closely with this committee in the way article 43 is defined.

Senator HELMS. Well, how do you feel as an individual. You do not like the idea of some foreign commander risking the lives of American service people, do you?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I must say I have not served myself. And I think that the issue here is whether we feel that American interests are served, and under what circumstances. It would be up to the military to make that decision, along with the President of the United States, and all of you.

Senator HELMS. It would be up to the military?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and the President of the United States, and the committee, I think, to really delineate and define the way that our troops would be used within the context of article 43.

Senator HELMS. Now, for the past 12 years, career Foreign Service officers have served under Republican Presidents, obviously. And for many of those FSO's, these 12 years comprise all of their careers. Now, have you participated in any effort to identify career FSO's who have risen to prominence under Republican Presidents?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Have I participated in identifying?

Senator HELMS. Yes, ma'am.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. No, sir.

Senator HELMS. You know what I am driving at, do you not? You are going to look at a list and say, now, this one is—just make a list. You have not done anything like that?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. No, I have not.

Senator HELMS. You do not know of any such activities?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. At the end of any term or at the beginning of a new one, there are reassignments of some Foreign Service officers. Many Ambassadors and career Foreign Service officers have terms

of office that continue, and that will be the practice of the Clinton administration.

Senator HELMS. Well, let me do this. I want to discuss this maybe a little more thoroughly than ought to be done in the public arena. Let me give you something in writing, and then you can comment in writing.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I would be happy to do that.

Senator HELMS. I do not want to engage in any discussion. You are a nice lady. I want to see you confirmed, and all of the rest of it.

Now, I talked about the cost of the United Nations, and you said it would cost \$1 a piece for every American, which is not, if you will forgive me, quite the point. I mean, you can justify everything that is bloated and irregular in this world if you break it down to how much it is costing per capita. And I know you do not want to make that argument, but it is used very frequently. But I do not think it is relevant to anything.

You recognize that we do pay what I believe is an inordinate share of the financial burden of the United Nations. Maybe it was all right when we started, but you look at Germany and all the rest of the countries, and what kind of economies they have and how much they are selling in the United States, and how much profit they are making, and the picture becomes a little bit different.

I wonder if you would consider outlining for me, with a degree of specificity, what you intend to do to see if the United Nations cannot spend less, and reform more, and waste less. Now, the Secretary General, he has put his finger on it, and I hope you are going to work with him that connection. You are sympathetic, are you not, to what he says?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Yes, Senator, absolutely and I am sympathetic with all of you who have called for reform in the United Nations. I think anyone who looks at the system and understands how it has been working knows that there is some duplication, some areas of overlapping work, and a staff that is too large. I think we do have to work together, and I assure you that I will, in fact, spend a lot of time on this. I want our money spent well, as do you.

Senator HELMS. I cannot ask for a better answer than that. But, you know, these people in New York from other countries are paid so much that they turn over their checks for the United Nations to their government, their respective governments. And then their respective governments pay them what they think they ought to make. That tells you something about the salary schedules. I think if the American people knew what the cost of each person, and the perks and that sort of thing—I guess the obvious question that I want to ask you, you say that you are going to look into that. You are going to work with the Secretary General.

Would you be willing, being the tough negotiator that Ms. Norton says you are, to negotiate a downward trend in the percentage that the United States pays for the operation of the United Nations, and maybe elevate some of these other folks who are far better off today than they were when this fee schedule was adopted? Would you be willing to commit to that?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, I think we need to look at how the assessments are made. As you stated, Germany and Japan have a

much greater ability to pay, and I think we need to look at that. I agree.

Senator HELMS. But I hope you will look seriously. Saying we will look at it gives me a little bit of a tremor, but I want you to do something about it.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Seriously, I will look at it.

Senator HELMS. OK, all right. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, indeed. Senator Moynihan.

Senator MOYNIHAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, may I say I hope Ambassador Albright will permit me, and that you will, sir. This is an occasion on which we recall the great hopes that Franklin D. Roosevelt had for the United Nations. You participated in the founding of the United Nations. It happens we have in the room, right there in front of us, George Thames, who just observed his 75th birthday, and who began taking photographs of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the White House in 1933. [Applause.]

Senator HELMS. I might add, Mr. Chairman, I agree with Senator Moynihan. I have known this guy for a long time, and the most treasured picture I have is one that he took. You may recall it. I had one of my grandsons on the trolley. I had gotten the trolley operator—he was a passenger, and my grandson was operating the car. I hope you remember that picture. Anyway, that was one occasion when that particular grandson thought he had died and gone to little boy heaven. George, we are proud of you.

Senator MOYNIHAN. First of all, I want to welcome you, Dr. Albright. You know the regard and respect that you are held in by the members of this committee and by the Senate.

I have two thoughts I would like to ask you about. The first is a technical one, but following on Senator Helms' suggestions. If the United Nations is going to work, it will have to adjust to the changing economic and military diplomatic balances in the world. That Japan and Germany are not part of the Security Council means there are a very great range of decisions that cannot be made in the Security Council.

Now, other informal arrangements can be devised. The institution is capable of that. But I would hope that there would be some thought to a Western European seat, and Asian seat. The time will come when we will just have to make some such arrangement. We have enlarged the Security Council from its original size, but an executive without two nations that represent a quarter of the world's GNP cannot execute very much. Would you not agree?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I certainly would. And may I say what a pleasure it is going to be to sit where you sat at the United Nations.

Senator MOYNIHAN. I hope you have more pleasure than I did.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, you did say it was dangerous place.

Senator MOYNIHAN. In that regard, you know, the question of the Secretariat arises. I think probably the first inkling I had that the Soviet system was finished was during my time at the U.N. when Arkady Schevchenko, who was the Under Secretary General for Security Council Affairs, defected to us. He was the highest ranking defection ever from the Soviet Union. A man on anyone's short list to succeed Gromyko.

And when he finally came over—you know, in the brutal manner of those days we “kept him in place” for sometime—he reported that the whole idea of Marxism-Leninism was dead in Moscow. Nobody believed it—maybe one or two very old men in the Politburo. The rest was just a self-serving, not very well functioning, bureaucracy. When you have someone of that rank defect it tells you a lot. There is a lot to be learned at the U.N., but you can also exaggerate what is possible. You are going to have another 25 members possibly on your watch.

I do not know what is behind that scene in Geneva over the weekend, concerning the Japanese head of the World Health Organization, but it does not speak well for American good sense. The campaign to oust him was run from Washington, and they lost. I suppose it is all right to run such campaigns if you win, but I will not ask you to comment on it.

But I would just say it seems to me that we now have an arrangement where it is assumed that one under secretary is from the Soviet Union and one under secretary is from the United States. Well, there is no longer a Soviet Union, and possibly changing that might be a way you could fix things. I leave that to your judgment, but it is a concern here.

The one question I would like to ask you is, what are we going to do about Bosnia? What is going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina is genocide. It is exactly what this book—the UN Charter—that the chairman carries around says will not happen again. I was in Sarajevo the day before Thanksgiving. I spent a day and a half there with Peter Galbraith. A week later, we traveled in Western Bosnia. Everything this charter was put together to say would not happen again is happening there.

The siege of Sarajevo is not by a military force intent upon occupying the city. They just want the people in the city to be dead by springtime. Starved and frozen, and blown apart. If you had seen it you wouldn't believe it. It is seeds of World War II, but almost more than that. The systematic effort to destroy a population in order that a territory may be ethnically pure.

Now, George Shultz spoke about that to the International Rescue Committee dinner up in New York, which is very much present in Croatia and Bosnia, doing as much as it can do, taking great risks. The committee began with refugees from Hitler's Germany and is based in New York.

And he said, you know, we used to say, “never forget, never again.” And then he asked, “what is it we are supposed never to forget?” Somalia is horrible, but Somalia is also familiar. It is clan warfare, and just of the tumultuous highland sort. Bosnia is a clear crime.

Now, I hope we are going to press the United Nations for war crimes tribunals. The United Nations, you know, begins with the sense that there are things that are not to be allowed in the world, and genocide is the foremost. And the Geneva Convention specifically provides that individuals can be held accountable for acts of this kind. And that is why we convened the Geneva conferences.

Could you speak to that, because you, as a Czech, as a Central European, I know feel strongly about it and are very knowledgeable about it?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Yes. First of all I, along with you, have been totally horrified by what I have seen. I must say, I do have a personal relationship with this. My father, before he went to the United Nations, was the Czechoslovak Ambassador to Yugoslavia. The fact that neither country now exists makes me feel very passé.

I think that here, again, as students of history, we all studied the League of Nations period. I remember everytime I studied it I would think, how is it possible that these people watched what was going on and did not do anything about it? And I must say that I hope we are all not in that same situation 50 years from now, when people read about this period.

I think we cannot, in these positions of responsibility that you have, and I hope to have, sit around and wait to be judged badly on this issue. President Clinton has, I think, spoken very fervently on this a number of times, having urged action much earlier in terms of enforcing the no-fly zones and doing more about it. He also has called for a tribunal to try these people as war criminals.

I think we have to pursue that, and I think mainly we jointly have to show some will to make sure that it is very clear to the world that this is not acceptable behavior in any time, but certainly not at this period.

So I would hope that we would all be able to work together to really enforce United Nations resolutions on this particular issue.

Senator MOYNIHAN. Dr. Albright, could I just ask if you would modify that? It is a little too diplomatic to say this is not acceptable behavior. This is criminal behavior and could get you hung.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I agree with that, Senator.

Senator MOYNIHAN. That is law. If we do not like that law, we can change that law, but we made that law.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I agree.

Senator MOYNIHAN. And you agree.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Absolutely, Senator.

Senator MOYNIHAN. And thank you very much, and great good luck to you.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Lugar.

Senator LUGAR. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Ms. Albright, you have been named to the Cabinet in addition to the U.S. Permanent Representative to the U.N. Can you give some idea, from your conversations with either the President or Secretary Christopher, as to how this role may integrate our policy with regard to the U.N. or your contributions with regard to overall foreign policy. Can you give us some idea of how the new administration may operate given these new constituencies in the Cabinet?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, first of all I am deeply honored to have been made a member of the Cabinet. This is a position that was thus designated the first time when President Eisenhower gave Ambassador Lodge Cabinet status. I think it should be clear to everyone that Secretary Christopher is the chief architect, with the President of the United States, of American foreign policy, and we all will work within that architecture.

I have had many conversations, we all have had, about how the Clinton foreign policy team will indeed be a team. Many of the se-

lections were made on that basis, and we have all worked together as we hope to very much work with you.

Yesterday President Clinton signed a new order in which I have been made a permanent member of the National Security Council. He can invite whomever he chooses, and he has done that, in addition to inviting the Secretary of Treasury and the new chairman of the National Economic Council as, I think, the clearest sign that President Clinton could make at this point in terms of showing how domestic and foreign policy will be integrated.

I think that is going to be a theme that you will see. In my opening statement, I stated that the United Nations' activities impinge on the daily lives of Americans, and I will also make that effort to relate the two. I will be a part of the entire National Security decision-making process, and will be working with all of the team members, primarily through the Secretary of State.

Senator LUGAR. The President's new arrangement, then, includes you formally in the National Security Council apparatus. And Treasury apparently is included, so you have some contact there. Do you also have a formal contact with Secretary Aspin at Defense?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. The Secretary of Defense is already a member of the National Security Council, and I think we will all be spending a great deal more time together as we think about United Nations or world policy activities as an integrated whole.

Senator LUGAR. Well, I think these changes are very constructive and fortuitous, particularly in view of the comments and questions of my colleague, Senator Moynihan, on Bosnia. Because frequently these issues break down. What seemed to be policy in the State Department is not necessarily echoed in the words that come to the President's ear from NSC or even from Defense, with Treasury perhaps having an alternative view or a different perspective. All of these are vital players and if the United States is to offer leadership in Bosnia, clearly all these voices must be integrated, and you are describing a situation in which that might be true.

One of the disturbing things for me, and perhaps for you, on which I would like your comment, is about the United Nations reaction in Bosnia which was exemplified by the tour of Mr. Boutros-Ghali a short time ago. His views were not necessarily original, and probably were derivative from the constituency he serves, but nevertheless he appeared to be saying to the Bosnians that he had seen suffering this awful on many occasions.

That they were by far not the worst off people in the world, and in essence they ought to let peace have a chance, namely through the negotiations of Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. This echoed what the Canadian commander had said months before, in which he said not with cynicism, but perhaps with some reality, that if nation-states are not prepared to offer very substantial armed forces, including ground forces, then the world must be prepared for a dismemberment, a division of the spoils somewhat along the lines that apparently are being suggested by the map that Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen have suggested.

In essence, we can fulminate about evils, but absent there being the armed forces required to bring about order and make it possible for refugees to return, for people to be fed—in essence the



same kind of security regime we have been trying to impose in Somalia under U.N. auspices—then the world can anticipate that a ceasefire is likely to end up with ethnic cleansing rewarded, with persons dispersed, and with no prospects of return, and a freezing in place of the injustice.

Quite apart from there being indictments or trials of war criminals, rather there would be a sad recognition that this is the way the world still works. And a ceasefire is to be welcomed, at least so further killing might be stopped.

Now, it seems to me the Clinton administration comes on the scene at a point at which the world watches which way the tilt will go. And the tilt might go toward simply papering over, in the best way, the status quo, with all that we have seen. But, if that is not the tilt, then very great leadership will be required.

With European allies very reluctant and the rest of the world perhaps even more reluctant to consider a European problem, and one that did not have strategic interest, what do you foresee in the next month? The next 2 days are still filled with the inaugural celebrations what have you, but the grim reality will set in in 72 hours and people like yourself will be meeting about these things.

How is the administration going to come to grips with this problem? Not only with our own policy and our own interests so the American people understand them and support the activities you might recommend to the Congress, but how do you plan to make any difference with European countries who have thus far not been easily swayed?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, you have studied the situation a great deal, and your comments are all right to the point in terms of the horrors that are going on there and the difficult position that anybody observing it is in, because I think we are all so desperately frustrated.

President Clinton has, in fact, said that we need to be more forceful, that we need to move the whole allied group more forcefully into position, that we need to enforce the United Nations resolutions, that the diplomatic talks that are going on are useful but are only one part of this, and that diplomacy and the threat of the use of force is the only way to move forward. We will, in fact, be meeting on this subject very soon, and this is clearly the highest priority on the President's and the National Security Council's agenda.

Senator LUGAR. Let me follow through on another question raised by Senator Moynihan, and that is Japanese and German membership in the U.N. Security Council. One thought is that in addition to the fact that in both Germany and Japan vital constitutional debates must precede their formal application or even informal sounding out, German and Japanese troops might have to be involved in dramatically different ways than those nation-states now contemplate if they were to play their roles as Security Council members.

But let us say that those debates occurred and that it is the will of the German people and the Japanese people to play very different roles and that becomes publicly known, what are the dangers of reopening the charter debate, which is the other shoe that often falls in this discussion?

Leaving aside the merits of these great powers being involved, what happens if other nations assert a desire to be on the Security Council? For example, it has been suggested that African countries might say as a group we ought to be represented, that we have been shut out of this process. Or Middle Eastern countries or countries that are very large, India comes to mind, or Brazil, representing our own hemisphere.

And having started the process, how secure are the rest of the articles of the charter? What kind of debate is likely to occur? Do you anticipate this debate on your watch, and if so, have you given thought to what this might mean?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, we have all given thought to this. In a preliminary way, President Clinton has said, as he did during the campaign, that he thought that Germany and Japan should be members of the Security Council—and I did not respond to you on that, Senator. I think it has a lot to do with some of the issues that Senator Helms raised, which is how can we get them to really participate more actively and how can we focus their attention on obligations when that is not reflected in the structure?

You, however, raise all the important points about what happens if you open this up and what you do about reflecting the regional aspects; if those people are properly represented, questions arise as to whether there are too many European seats. And I think those are clearly questions that we are all going to have to explore together.

As with everything else, there are no simple answers. On the other hand, I think we have to make the organization reflect the new world and not so much the old world. But I welcome the discussions that we are all going to have on this, of how to make that Security Council more reflective of what the needs are today.

Senator LUGAR. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Dodd.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me just ask unanimous consent that an opening statement be included in the record, if I could.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

Senator DODD. And let me welcome you, Dr. Albright, to this committee, and congratulate you on your nomination and congratulate the President for making the nomination. It is a tremendously challenging time, an exciting time, and I cannot think of a more exciting post to have in these days than to be the U.S. Representative at the United Nations. And my congratulations and welcome to your family who is here as well.

I will include further remarks extolling the capabilities and background of this fine candidate in the record, but I am very excited about your nomination, and I welcome it.

[The prepared statement of Senator Dodd follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

Mr. Chairman, I want to add my voice in strong support of the nominee, and I look forward to hearing her testimony this morning.

Half a century ago, in the aftermath of World War II, the United Nations was formed to develop a multilateral approach to the challenges of peace and security

in the post-war world. With the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war, that vision is now within sight.

This is at once a dramatic opportunity and a daunting challenge. Just as the world has changed in the past few years, so must the U.N. Adapt to its remarkable new surroundings.

For example, I believe multilateral peacekeeping operations—the so-called “blue helmets”—must be strengthened. The world needs a dependable multilateral force it can count on to keep the peace in unstable parts of the world.

In addition, it is time for the global community to develop a mechanism to bring international criminals before the bar of justice—to deal with war criminals, terrorists, drug traffickers, money launderers and others who carry out crimes of an international nature.

Finally, it is time for the United Nations to accept its responsibility in the area of internal reform. The U.N. Must be fully accountable to the global community.

These challenges will not be met on their own. They will require the firm leadership of the United States—and the consistent, personal attention of the United States Ambassador.

It is against this backdrop that we consider today the nomination of Madeleine Albright. Mr. Chairman, I am confident that the President-elect has made the right choice for this very important task.

Madeleine Albright's experience with international diplomacy began quite literally at home. The daughter of a Czechoslovakian diplomat, she came to the United States at age 11 after the Communist takeover in 1948.

An expert in Russian studies, Madeleine Albright is no stranger to discipline and hard work. After graduation from Wellesley College, she raised three children while commuting part time to graduate school. By 1976, she had earned a Masters and Ph.D. At Columbia University.

Since that time, Madeleine Albright has had broad experience in the foreign policy of the United States. She has worked for the office of Senator Muskie, the National Security Council staff, and a number of private organizations including the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the National Endowment for Democracy.

Since 1989, Madeleine Albright has been President of the Center for National Policy and since 1982 she has been a Research Professor of International Affairs at Georgetown University.

Mr. Chairman, I look forward to hearing Madeleine Albright's views on the role of the United Nations in the changing world. Am especially interested in her views on a proposal I intend to put before the Senate later this years the establishment of a permanent international criminal court to try persons suspected of international crimes. In my view, this is an idea whose time has come.

I welcome the nominee and I look forward to her testimony.

Senator DODD. I really just have one question. I raised this with Secretary Christopher during his confirmation hearing and I raise it with you and then I will come back to a few more detailed questions.

I listened to part of your response to Senator Moynihan regarding the tragic events in what was Yugoslavia, and rather than getting into the specifics of each fact situation—certainly the human rights violations in Iraq and the former Yugoslavia have been well detailed—I do not know of anyone having any difficulty deciding whether or not Saddam Hussein or Mr. Milosevic should qualify as war criminals.

Given your own personal family background, of course, of coming from Czechoslovakia—I just share for the record, Mr. Chairman, that I recently discovered correspondence between my father and my mother. In 1945 my father was a rather young attorney who became the executive trial counsel of the Nuremberg trials, and in one of the letters he told of a visit to Czechoslovakia. And he wrote in a letter to my mother in bold letters, he wrote, “this is one place that will never go Communist.” This was in 1945. And of course the tragic events a few years later of which our nominee is painfully aware, proved to be quite different.

It was just 51 years ago this month, 1942, that a group of allied representatives met in London and decided that there should be a judicial process at the end of World War II. And it would make Hitler and his coconspirators held accountable for human rights violations.

And an effort was made. In fact, the very first civilian witness ever before this committee, on behalf of the Genocide Convention, was my father coming off the Nuremberg trials. He argued strenuously for it and, as I pointed out a week or so ago, tragically it took this country 4 decades to get around to the business of ratifying the Genocide Convention.

The CHAIRMAN. If the Senator would yield for a second, by coincidence it is my father who was the first member of the War Crimes Commission that was appointed at the time.

Senator DODD. I knew that as well, and I am glad you made that point, Mr. Chairman.

My point is this: It seems we have a wonderful opportunity here. There has been extensive groundwork done at the U.N. on trying to set up an international court of criminal justice. We could send such a profound signal supporting this initiative. When individuals engage in such significant abuses of human rights as we are seeing today in at least two spots around the world, and there certainly may be others, there ought to be a means by which the world community can bring its weight of moral indignancy to bear.

The criticism has been raised, well, you cannot get your hands on these guys. I mean you have got all of the legal nuances. But as Elie Wiesel has pointed out, sometimes just being able to tell the world what others have done is its own form of justice in itself.

And I wonder if you might just share with us whether or not you think this is too idealistic to be talking about it. Is there an opportunity here to be present at a new creation, if you will? In our own time, this institution can do what many hoped it would do more than 4 decades ago.

And, again, I am not asking you to get into details with me here; that is not fair. But could you talk, if you would, at least in some general terms about the value and the merit of taking advantage of this new world order as it emerges? Can we fulfill some of the promises that many wish had been completed years ago and see if we cannot establish that kind of court and then do exactly what Senator Moynihan was talking about in one specific case.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator Dodd, I think that this is a moment in which we have to have a much more active role generally about our involvement in international organizations. My philosophy in traveling between New York and Washington is going to be to maintain a very activist role, which brings us into a whole series of relationships in the international community.

As far as I am concerned, there is none more important than really strengthening the international rule of law and establishing a tribunal such as you discussed, which Secretary Christopher also endorsed. I think that part of the problem that we have now is that such a place does not exist. We have a hard time trying to sort out where we would bring these war criminals—the war crimes, where we would present them. Therefore, creating this organization is

very important. I think we are all going to have to spend a lot of time on it, and I see it as a very valuable aspect of my work.

I also think we have spent a lot of time talking about—all of us have mentioned it in one form or another—how the U.N. is now in a position to be what its founders wanted it to be. But it has to be more than that. I think it has to not only solidify that particular promise, but move into the future and deal with the kinds of problems that were not foreseen either in their opportunity or in their problems presented to us.

So I would hope that with your help we can see the U.N. and other international and regional organizations as living organisms with which we have to work to really deal with the essential problems of our time, some of which we do not want to deal with. War crimes is certainly one of them. So I would look forward to working with you on that subject.

Senator DODD. Well, I thank you very much for that and I will look forward to working with you on it as well. I think there is a lot of interest here. That brings me to another point that you and I talked about when we met last week, and that is demystifying the U.N. a bit for the American people.

You do not have to hire any fancy political consultant to know that if you stand up in almost any congressional district or State in the country and denounce the U.N., it is good politics. I regret deeply even saying that, but the fact of the matter is it happens to be the case.

Here we are, fortunate to have this incredible institution located in our country, not that distant from this capital, and I would hope that we might try to think about some better ways in which Members of Congress would become more familiar with the U.N. and how it works and its various systems. We should learn what a positive role it can play, and how it can help us tremendously.

I am talking about self interest here, now. I am talking about the United States' interests, and how the U.N. can advance the interests of our own country in so many ways. I wonder if you might want to take a minute and comment on that.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. This really has a lot to do with the concept of making it more of a living organism in which we can all function, and I would hope very much that all of you on the committee, as well as other members, would feel free to come to New York, some officially as delegates, but I would welcome anyone.

I think that we might think about really having some regular sessions. I think it would be very important for the delegates up there to know all of you. The United Nations is basically a legislative body, and I think that it would be a very useful kind of relationship to show how you work together.

I also think, and this is a very important point, that all of us have to explain to the American people why the U.N. is good for us. What is it that we can get out of the United Nations system that helps Americans share the burden for peacekeeping, for the enforcement of human rights, for a whole series of agenda items in the social and economic baskets.

I must say, as an observer myself of the United Nations system, that the system emerged from a period where it originally had hope, then was deadlocked by the cold war, then became kind of

an echo chamber, then it became a place where they bashed the United States. I think now we have an opportunity for the United Nations to reflect our greatest hopes and work for our needs, and therefore I think it behooves us all to travel around and explain it to people, and I hope very much that all of you will feel free to come and see your home at the United Nations.

Senator DODD. I commend you for that statement. I know Senator Pell was a delegate a number of years ago; I was. I found it to be a most enjoyable experience. I could not be there as often as I wanted, but the time I spent there I found to be invaluable. And to work with our delegation and to go to meetings with them, I learned a great deal from that experience and I am glad to hear you comment as you did.

Last, I am very interested in what happens in this hemisphere, as the chairperson of the subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere. The U.N. has been very involved in two areas. In Haiti there is now, I think, a 500 person observer team that will be heading down, and there are some cost questions associated with that.

The other one is El Salvador, where the U.N. did a remarkable job, in my view, in helping to bring to a conclusion an accord ending years of civil war. There now seems to be some retreat on the part of President Cristiani for his own specific reasons, but the Secretary General has urged that the purification, as they call it, of the senior officials in El Salvador stay on track.

And I wonder if you might just comment briefly about El Salvador and Haiti in terms of the U.N. role.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I think that as far as El Salvador is concerned, I agree with you that there has been some sense of a movement backward. But on the whole, I think that has been viewed as a very successful United Nations effort in terms of bringing to fruition some of the hopes and dreams of people in El Salvador.

I think that what we must do is keep an eye on it. This is generally my opinion about how we view the United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking and peace observer missions. They have to be watched to make sure that they really are fulfilling the purposes of keeping attention on particular issues, and that is true in El Salvador.

The issue in Haiti is one where we really have to make sure that democracy is returned to Haiti, that the whole issue of the refugees is handled properly, and that human rights are observed. I think the United Nations plays a very strong role there and that it will continue to do so.

Senator DODD. It will not come as any great surprise that I want to work closely with you, and given the role of the U.N. here, it is critically important we support that, in my view, where it makes sense for us to do so. So I am grateful for your response on that and look forward to working with you, but again I—Mr. Chairman, let me just end by saying I am very very enthused about this nomination.

I apologize. I should have recognized Senator Muskie, the former secretary, and how it is a pleasure to be in your presence again and I am delighted that you are here. And one could not have a better advocate, as I am sure Dr. Albright has already stated. I welcome you and look forward to seeing you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Senator Kassebaum.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Dr. Albright, with your expertise in foreign policy, not only as an observer but as a developer of foreign policy ideas and initiatives and your understanding of the legislative process, I think that we are very fortunate in having you as the United States Representative at the United Nations at such a crucial time.

Not to continue to belabor, particularly, the tragedy unfolding in Bosnia, but I would just like to go on a bit more and reflect on the rules of engagement that were followed or are being followed by the United States forces in Somalia under, of course, a U.N. resolution. And in those rules of engagement, as you know, I think it states that the troops or forces are not prohibited from carrying out the mission. So therefore, they do not have to wait to be fired upon before they could use firepower, if necessary, if there was in any way a prohibiting force in carrying out that mission.

I was struck in seeing the pictures of the convoy, the U.N. convoy that was turned back in Bosnia from being able to deliver food and medicine—I now believe it has been able to go through—by a roadblock put in place by Serb forces. I think it is tragic that such a situation can occur, and more importantly, I believe it undermines the credibility of the United Nations peacekeeping efforts. And I wonder if you have had a chance to think about or explore the terms of engagement and being able to, as Secretary Christopher mentioned, provide a little more muscle to the United Nations in their peacekeeping efforts.

I think if this is not done, we are not going to be able to utilize this resource which I think is so important now. Have you given any thought to ways that might be done, and could we perhaps find some support in the United Nations for being able to use the rules of engagement that we are using in Somalia?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, first let me commend you on the amazing work that you have been doing vis-a-vis Somalia. I think you have shown tremendous leadership on this, and I think everybody is very grateful to you.

I do think that we need to look at the rules of engagement, as Secretary Christopher said, and again, these are the kinds of issues that we need to discuss together. We are on uncharted territory here, and I think it would be a mistake to proceed unilaterally. This is an issue that concerns all of you, and we should be thinking about how not to put the military in harm's way when it is unnecessary.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Because really, one of the successes of the Somalia policy will be the handoff, as the United States withdraws and the United Nations takes over.

You commented in your opening statement, and I was very pleased that you did, about reform efforts, and you mentioned unwieldy and inefficient staff and bureaucracy overlapping responsibilities, and, of course, the financial crisis. But in speaking to overlapping responsibilities, I'd like to go back again to Somalia and just to welcome Senator Jeffords as the new ranking member of the African Subcommittee. And I do not want to ask too many questions regarding Africa. I will still stay on that subcommittee. It is very important to me.

But I'd like to follow through because one of the disappointments in Somalia early on was the turf battles among the different U.N. agencies and the lack of coordination, the inefficiencies that came because of that lack of coordination, and as a result, nothing much was done early on. The Secretary General has spoken to reform efforts at the United Nations, and he, I think, recognizes the problems.

One of the suggestions that has been put forward really by the Secretary General is a more restrictive umbrella, bringing the centralized efforts to the United Nations, and as you probably are aware, this has caused some concern among the specialized agencies. I think particularly, say, UNICEF, which has operated in a very independent manner, had been a very effective voice for children around the world, and if I may just make a comment about Audrey Hepburn, who has testified before this committee and spoke last year very poignantly about Somalia and Africa in general and the children, so she will be missed worldwide for her dedication and her caring and her grace.

Have you given any thought to reform efforts and what you think might be important?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I have been reading a lot about this now, and I think that what I'd like to do is spend a little bit more time reviewing it. But I do agree with the points that you have made and my own impression as far as the reaction of the international community to how long it took to get everybody together on Somalia. And if I may repeat, your trip there made a big difference, I think. And what has to happen is that we do not get into this kind of situation again, which brings me to another point. It is a point which Secretary Christopher made.

I think we have to think more in terms of preventive diplomacy, so that we really see some of these problems ahead of time and try to sort out where they are and help the United Nations in that particular effort. The Secretary-General spoke about this in his agenda for peace, and I think again he has some very good ideas that we need to follow through on, and I hope to be able to work with you and the rest of the committee on this.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Well, I hope so, too. I do not know what the best approach is on reform, but I think, of course, the turf battles that exist there are legendary. We have turf battles here, as well. But I think if we are going to have the United Nations that we all see is going to be so crucial for the world in the future, somehow we have to get a handle on this, because it really does prevent even preventive diplomacy if we cannot make it a more effective mechanism.

And just to add a country that needs this right now is Sudan. And we see the same situation developing there as in Somalia, and there it is a government that indeed has a purpose in creating the tragedies that are developing. And I think that if nothing else, I would hope that the United Nations could be stepping forward in a more vigorous fashion to get humanitarian relief through.

So it can be a repeat performance, and I am sure, as we look around the world, there are many times people must say well, how much more can we do? But that is why we are looking to the United Nations, and perhaps the more we are asking of it the more, of



course, we have got to be a participant in helping make it work successfully.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Senator Sarbanes.

Senator SARBANES. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to welcome Madeleine Albright to the committee. This is a very distinguished nomination, and we are delighted with the wisdom and judgment that President Clinton has indicated in making it, and we are very much looking forward to, in my judgment, the outstanding work which Professor Albright will do at the United Nations.

She has, of course, had a very distinguished academic career, a graduate of Wellesley College and a Ph.D. from Columbia University. She then had the good judgment and the good fortune to go to work, I take it right out of graduate school, for Senator Muskie. That is about the best postgraduate education I can imagine. And I just want to say a word, because he is here with us today, about the extraordinary contributions which Ed Muskie made to this Nation over a long career of distinguished public service.

We talk about giants walking the floor of the United States Senate, and Ed Muskie was certainly one of them. And it is very much to Madeleine Albright's credit that she was one of the people that stood behind him and assisted him in his leadership efforts in the Senate, and it is a very big plus, in my judgment, in your record that you have had that long association with Senator Muskie, not only on his staff but subsequently, I know, at the Center for National Policy and when you were at the NSC and he was the Secretary of State.

I want to make two comments about Madeleine Albright in a personal sense. First of all, I am struck by her sense of citizen responsibility, as reflected in the activities she has participated in outside of her direct line of work. She worked with Senator Muskie, she went to the National Security Council staff, she was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, she has been a research professor for international affairs at Georgetown University, she has been president of the Center for National policy.

But there is another dimension to her activities that I just want to put out on the public record, and I am just going to mention a few of them. There are many others. She has been on the board of trustees at Wellesley and at Williams College, on the board of trustees of the Black Student Fund here in Washington, on the Washington Urban League, on the executive committee of the DC Citizens for Better Public Education.

Now, you know, this means a lot to me because it shows a person who, with all of these other activities, has a sense of a community responsibility that I very much respect and I think is something President Clinton underscored in his inaugural address yesterday in terms of the responsibilities each of us as Americans have to assume to make our community a better place.

Second, I cannot help but be moved by the sentence in her statement about how her family came to be in the United States. Madeleine Albright was born in Prague. But, the paragraph says, thanks to the generosity of the American people, we grew up as free Americans. And it has been my perception throughout the

many years of knowing her that she has a very deep appreciation of the meaning of freedom and the role of the United States in helping to foster freedom around the world, and she will carry this with her to the United Nations.

I also want to note that at the U.N. they work in six languages. You can sit down at a terminal and put an earphone on and you can switch a button and you can get six languages. Madeleine Albright is fluent in three of the six languages that they work with at the United Nations. So that is just another dimension of her capabilities as she moves forward to take this job.

So, as I said at the outset, this is a very distinguished appointment and I am delighted to welcome here.

I just want to touch on two substantive points, in the time that is left to me. First, you make reference at the outset of your statement about the growing importance of the United Nations' role, and I think you are right on target. These peacekeeping missions now which are incredibly important to the U.S. and to all other countries is something that the U.N. now has been able to move into in a very strong way with the demise of the cold war.

I do think that there is an important function to be performed by all of us, those in the Congress that are involved in foreign policy and the administration, and I raised this point with Secretary Christopher to try to communicate to the country, to our country, the changing nature of the scene. We have gone through a long time where the U.N. has been berated in this country, sometimes for good reasons, sometimes not. But people have to understand that its role has changed dramatically, and the opportunities now are quite different.

We really are back where we have the possibility of realizing some of the assumptions at the beginning of the United Nations back in 1945 which you allude to here, and I guess the first question I want to put to you is what role do you envision in moving across the country explaining and detailing the role you are playing at the U.N., the role the U.N. plays in terms of realizing important American interests?

I think we need that, and I would like to see our Ambassador to the United Nations who is right in that forum everyday going across the U.S.—I know there is a limit on how much travel you can do, but coming into a community and making a major address would be a major occasion, and it is a real opportunity for an educational effort. You have been an educator now for some number of years. Do you see this as part of a role you would envision playing?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, first, thank you for your very kind words. I appreciate them very much.

I do very much see the need for explaining the United Nations to the United States in this particular way. It seems to me, as we look at where we are at the moment in terms of our society here, there is a genuine need to do something for the people of the United States. So the question is how and why to persuade anybody to give money to an international organization. And therefore, it is going to be essential to explain what it is that the U.N. does and why it is good for the United States.

I have spoken about this, that at this moment the United States has three choices. We can either be the world's policeman and do everything alone, which most Americans do not want, which we cannot afford, and is inappropriate, or we have the choice of acting as an ostrich, which many Americans want because there is a sense that we now need to take care of our own. The third choice is to be a partner, and the partner is through an organization such as the U.N. or the OAS or various other organizations.

Because we are Americans, we want to be a senior partner or first among equals, and I think that we ought to be thinking about in that particular way. But it is very important, I think, to tell the story. I would be honored and delighted to travel around the country to explain it and show the ways in which U.N. activity really impinges on American lives, whether it is environmental issues or health issues, economic issues, issues in terms of the role of women and children, and any number of things.

There is a whole host of very specific United Nations actions that impinge on us, and I know that you have spent a lot of time there and I think have learned more about the inner workings of the U.N. than most of us. Maybe we can travel together on this. I think that the people that have really seen it work see the problems with it but also the opportunities. So I would welcome the opportunity to explain it everywhere.

Senator SARBANES. Fine. Well, your answer has led into the next question I wanted to put to you. You say in your statement, and I am now quoting you, many of you, meaning members of this committee, have led the fight for United Nations reform, and I intend to continue working hard to achieve the efficiency you have called for in the organization's work. And I particularly want to pay my respects to Senator Kassebaum who has taken a strong lead in that and done it, I think, in a very constructive way. Sometimes that issue is raised, but in not such a constructive way. And I think Senator Kassebaum has done it and produced some important results.

You go on to say, I must say, however, that there is a fine line between the leverage gained by withholding funds in anticipation of reform and losing credibility because you owe so much money. The time has arrived to pay our outstanding obligations to the United Nations and enable it to bear the burdens of this multilateral era. I agree with that, and I hope that we can develop a broad consensus here in the Congress to support that position.

I think there have been major reforms. I think the Secretary General is committed to continuing that. I think he finds himself in a very difficult position because he is constantly up against the wall on the resources question. And I think with the changing world it is very important to America's interest that we no longer can be pointed to at the U.N. as being delinquent on our obligations.

There are two separate questions. One question is well, what obligation do you assume for the future when these obligations are being undertaken. And one may argue about that and have differing judgments. There is another question, though, about meeting or paying the obligations that you assumed in the past when all or

most of the other membership is doing it and certainly the leading countries are doing it.

It is my perception that the fact that we have not paid up is being used by some at the U.N., including some erstwhile allies of ours, to sort of diminish the U.S. leadership role and enhance their leadership role, so to speak. And I just think we need to clear the decks on that issue, get paid up. I think we have got strong assurances from the Secretary General—in fact, even Senator Helms quoted the Secretary General in that regard, and I think we need to give the Secretary General some support. I think the way to do it at this particular time is to meet these obligations, have a clean deck, and then go from there.

I very much hope the administration will continue to press that point, and I even more hope that we will be able to develop a consensus here in the Congress to be supportive of it. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Jeffords.

Senator JEFFORDS. Thank you. First, I want to echo the fine comments made about Senator Muskie. My first involvement with the United States Senate was appearing before his committee relative to water pollution, over 20 years ago. It was an extremely positive experience. I must say that experiences since then have not lived up, necessarily, to that high standard you set. But I have the deepest admiration for you and you have the greatest credibility with me with respect to the nominee here.

I would also just like to make a brief comment related to Senator Dodd's comments about the difficult political problems coming up for the United Nations. I would like to think that Vermont is an exception to that.

Of course, the first Ambassador to the United Nations was Senator Warren Austin of my State. And we often get involved in international matters at times when it is not expected. For instance, in the summer of 1941, in a special session of our legislature, we declared war on Germany. I do not think it did much to convince Hitler to do anything, but it does show our involvement. So, I am proud. And hopefully the next election will not prove me wrong in that Vermont is willing to listen to and to try to deal with some of these problems.

I also say that I am pleased to be the ranking member on the African Subcommittee, because I believe the most serious problems that we are going to have to deal with in the political sense are in Africa as to the involvement of the United Nations and the United States.

First of all, let me start with a question relative to the problems that have been related here as to the United Nations and the management aspects of it. It is my understanding that the position for Under Secretary for Management, which is presently held by the United States, that there are rumors that that position may not be going to the United States again.

I wonder if you know of anything about that or, if not, you could check that out for me? It seems to me that by holding onto that position for the United States, we have a much better hope of trying to help and straighten out some of the management problems.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. My understanding is that it will be an American spot, but I will check on it for you.

Senator JEFFORDS. I would appreciate that very much. Second, getting back to my Vermonters, in fact in one year 188 of our town took a position on town meeting day relative to nuclear proliferation, as well as how our roads were going to be plowed and the schools funded. So, we have a great interest in problems of proliferation. And I would note that as the cold war has faded that the problems of nonproliferation are increasing dramatically.

And I wondered what your thoughts would be on the role of the United Nations to control the spread of nuclear technologies, and curtail development and testing of nuclear weapons, which I certainly believe is in our best interest? I am interested in looking at an increased role of the United Nations in negotiating multilateral controls on proliferating technologies, and also regional arms control.

And what do you see as the prospects for U.S. leadership at the U.N. in these areas, especially in finding meaningful sanctions for violations of our nonproliferation treaties, and also perhaps sanctions also for those who go ahead with the development of nuclear weapons?

We are in somewhat of an embarrassing position in the sense of continuing to demand testing. But it seems to me that we have to find a way to make a system which has meaning in preventing nonproliferation, and I do not think we have one at this time. There are no real sanctions.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, I think this is one of the biggest problems with which we have to deal. As I mentioned in my opening remarks, though the world is specifically more safe for Americans, there are any number of reasons that make it a more dangerous place for others, and nuclear proliferation is one of them. It is very important for us to have an international effort to strengthen the regimes that can limit the spread of nuclear weapons, working through a strengthened IAEA to really have something happen.

President Clinton has spoken about this frequently. I hope we will have a chance to work together on this because to me it is a key problem, having largely removed the threat of intercontinental ballistic missiles and strategic weapons, that we really now focus on this particular aspect. It is getting out of control already, and we need to strengthen the regime. So this is an issue on which we must work together. I would be happy to.

Senator JEFFORDS. Thank you. I appreciate that answer. After 10 years of terrible war in El Salvador, as we finally have a situation where it seems to be beginning to heal itself, implementation of the U.N. sponsored peace plan has been stressful, and some fear that its success may be threatened by the reluctance of the Salvadoran military to comply with important aspects of the agreement.

How can we be more helpful at the United Nations during this difficult period of transition to ensure that that peace, while somewhat tenuous, does go forward?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I think that generally the whole effort of peace in El Salvador has been successful, and we have been very pleased by the fact that that has come about. But I hope, as one of my first roles up there, to make sure that that particular mission has the

strength; that we really shed light on the fact that there has been some slowness by the military in fulfilling the obligations.

And I think one of the things we can do is to talk about it, and to really say that this is part of the mission that has not been fulfilled as well as it should be, and that we need to make sure that it does.

Senator JEFFORDS. Finally, in Secretary—I guess almost-Secretary Christopher's opening statement, he outlined three pillars of Clinton foreign policy: economic strength, military security, and support for democracy. We may emphasize collective security more than in the past. The United States will act together, quoting him, where we can, alone where we must. And U.S. participation in United Nations peace keeping should be accompanied by improved training for other participants in the multinational force. And when appropriate, by more risk taking rules of engagement by U.N. troops.

Secretary Christopher mentioned Cambodia as an example of U.N. forces that may need to take more risk and be more aggressive in making peace, and I emphasize making peace. What do you envision as examples of Secretary Christopher's risk taking by U.N. forces? What does he mean by that?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I think that generally we are going to be exploring the ways to give additional military capabilities to however we agree on an evolving article 43. I think also some of the questions that we talked about with Senator Kassebaum apply in terms of really making sure that the rules of engagement allow the United Nations forces to be effective in the areas, rather than finding themselves not being able to take action.

I think we are into new areas here which we are going to have to review. But as we ask the United Nations peace keepers to go into areas, especially as troubled as Cambodia, or any of them, then I think we need to develop rules that allow them to be more effective. These are exactly the kinds of capabilities that we need to be talking about.

Senator JEFFORDS. One question, in going on with this peace making or peace keeping aspect, is to what do you see the United States role being in the future in that respect, and whether or not it is appropriate for us to ask people to be in a position in the United Nations to do something which is not in the security interests of the United States, and whether or not we should develop a volunteer U.S. force or other volunteer forces so that we don't put ourselves in the position of asking people to do something which is not really what they were intended to face when they entered the military?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, there are a number of proposals as to how to make the U.N. rapid deployment forces, standing on-call the various terms that are used for it, more effective. Some of them have to do with the fact that these people, when they volunteer for something, need to know exactly what it is they're getting themselves into.

If somebody is only a peacekeeper, and then they are asked to be a peacemaker, it requires very different kinds of not only rules of engagement, but the kinds of people that you ask to do this. And I think some of the problems that we have been seeing are a result

of people thinking that they are going in to do one thing and end up doing something else.

I do think that we have found, with the volunteer military in this country that, in effect the people who volunteer know what they are getting into and are willing and able to do what they are asked to do. And I think the same might be true in terms of the various suggestions that have been made about the United Nations forces.

Senator JEFFORDS. I think I would just like to pursue that briefly. There is a distinction, though, when you have a national security interest and when you do not. And, certainly, I was a captain in the Reserves of the United States Navy, and the general feeling is when you volunteer, you volunteer to protect the United States, not Somalia or some other place.

It seems to me that we have to make a distinction so that people that volunteer for United Nations engagements do so with the understanding that they may be facing a risk and not involving our national security. Do you make that kind of a distinction?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I think the question, and this is something we will all have to work together on, is definitions of national security and vital interest. I think these are evolving issues. And there are those who believe that this clearly is one of the issues that we need to discuss—what are national interests? They change in terms of where we see that American interests are attacked.

Senator JEFFORDS. Thank you very much. I appreciated our discussion. And I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Kerry.

Senator KERRY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. First of all, let me join in the accolades and in welcoming a good friend, not only personally, but a good friend of an awful lot of my friends in Massachusetts. I guess ever since I came to the Senate in 1985, that we would be having a confirmation hearing for you at some point in time, I just never knew when, and I never knew quite for what. But I am delighted that it is now, and I really look forward to working with you.

I think it is an exciting moment, obviously. I also want to say to Secretary of State Senator Muskie, for me it is a thrill just to have him here on the dais with us or with me, personally. Long before I thought seriously about trying to get here, he was one of those people who stood out as a role model for a lot of us. I might add, during difficult times in this country he was the exception to the rule that you could not trust anybody over 30. He spoke with rare eloquence and has been a tremendous example. It is great to see you here.

As I listened, also, to my colleagues, Senator Dodd and Senator Pell, remembering what their fathers did, I was reminded of the 10 years that I traipsed around most of the European countries as a Foreign Service brat, learning at the foot of a Foreign Service officer.

And one of the lessons that most stays with me, particularly after my own experience both on this committee, and in the military, and otherwise, is the degree to which we Americans have great difficulty in seeing other country's problems and other people through their eyes, not just our own, and in understanding the full

measure of their aspirations and the full complexity of the problems of those nations.

We tend to look for solutions that are classically American, which can be a problem. It is a problem historically, as we saw in Vietnam where we really did not understand history. It has been a problem in many other countries. We have been very slow in that and understanding what the aspirations were in Europe and what the real feelings were—and nobody knows this better than you do. And it is now our problem in a lot of places, and I think most particularly Cambodia.

I have had the privilege in the course of the last couple of years of paying almost—what, four visits to Cambodia and having five or six meetings with Hun Sen. And I think I probably spent more time with him and with other members of that government than most people in the American political process.

It has been very clear to me for a long period of time that we have not understood what is happening there. We formed a peace process that does not fully reflect aspirations of the people there.

We now have the biggest and most expensive, and perhaps most significant test of the U.N. peace keeping capacity as a consequence. And we have a peace process being held hostage by the Khmer Rouge, which harkens back to what Senator Moynihan was saying about criminality and the need for the United Nations and for the United States to express our outrage and our unwillingness to accept certain situations no matter the difficulty.

The presence of the Khmer Rouge in the process has legitimized them, and they are now exploiting that in a grotesque way, sufficient perhaps to spoil the chances for peace, and regrettably sufficient also to perhaps subjugate the real aspirations of the Cambodian people in the future. They have refused to abide by the U.N. process. They have not submitted to inspections. They have violated the accords with the resulting death of U.N. peace keepers. And I am told by many experts, may be in a position to even take over the country by force as a consequence of this resurgence.

Our Thai allies are greatly remiss in their permissiveness on the borders, in trade, and there is much that we could do, much that you can do, and the President can do to alter this. So, I would like to ask you to share with us your sense of the situation. It is unacceptable that the Khmer Rouge should be permitted to destroy the aspirations not just of the Cambodian people but of the United Nations itself, and of all of our efforts to this point.

So, I ask you if you would just share with us your thoughts about this very, very pressing issue that I hope the President and you will give immediate attention to.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, I agree with you completely in terms of the horrors that are going on there, and the fact that unfortunately we are in a situation in the world where one horror seems to displace another and our attention is taken to a different issue. Cambodia was in everybody's view for a while, and then we switched to Bosnia, and I think we have to be very clear that there are a number of areas where there are unacceptable policies taking place.

You know this, and I am very proud to have been associated with a study on Cambodia that Secretary Muskie along with my col-



league, Maureen Steinbrenner, did where they, in effect, saw along with you the need to talk to Hun Sen, to verify the collection of arms, and the difficulty of including the Khmer Rouge in any kind of an agreement; that they were really the spoilers to a great extent.

I think that this particular mission for the United Nations is in great danger of not succeeding because of the way that it has been structured. So, I am not prepared to comment at the moment about the direction in which we will go. But I agree with you very much about the difficulties, and making sure that this is not viewed as two things. One, I think that is a policy that in some way does not help the disastrous situation in Cambodia, and also is not a blemish in terms of United Nations activities of a mission that fails. So, this is something that also is very high on the agenda.

You should know that the Clinton administration is going to be in the process of looking at these major priority issues in the next weeks, and clearly Cambodia is among them.

Senator KERRY. I appreciate that. I would commend to you, perhaps, something that in course of the questioning with Secretary Christopher we talked about as an immediate measure the possibility of a change in the rules of engagement. I think that would be a very significant step.

I want to try to move to two other things if I can, quickly. We have expressed outrage about Bosnia, and I think the world is repulsed by the images not just of the ethnic cleansing but the manner of it. I mean, when you have 20,000 women who are allegedly raped not as an excess of war but a matter of strategy of war, something beyond the unacceptable is happening clearly in terms of criminality. And yet if you travel to Europe now and talk, and you can be in Zurich, you know, a matter of a couple of hours from the battlefield, so to speak, it is as if nothing was going on.

What is it that leads us to be expressing this outrage and feel the compulsion to do something more than our close allies and friends, particularly given the history of that region?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I must say that I have watched with some amazement the fact that the Europeans have not taken action on this.

Anybody who travels around Europe and also knows these areas and sees how close one is to the other is cognizant of the fact that it is a very small community, and I believe that we need to press on and also press our Western European allies to move with us and be more forceful.

The coalition is very important to us, but we have to lead it, and I think we have to make clear that, as President Clinton has, we would like to see more enforcement of the U.N. Security Council resolutions on Bosnia but also to make clear that the Europeans have to come along with us.

Senator KERRY. Well, I certainly commend that effort to you and to the President. I think if leadership is needed, and it is, it is very much needed in that effort, and I do not think it is biting off more than we can chew, and it is in the absence of that kind of leadership that you leave the vacuum where these terrible things happen.

A third area that I think is too little talked about, and the neglect is mounting, and I know you are well aware of it—obviously

Vice President Gore's presence is important to this—is the environment. I had the privilege of traveling with former Senator Wirth and the Vice President to Rio for the UNCED Conference, and was just astonished by the gap between our presence and everybody else's, but most significantly Japan's and Germany's on the economic front, and other people's in terms of leadership.

Whether it is population growth, from which we see many of the problems of Sub-Saharan Africa, and our current reaction in Somalia and so forth, or whether it is resource depletion, whether it is oceans or land resources and so forth, the environmental choices that we face must be high on the international agenda.

Now, the U.N. is about to create the commission coming out of UNCED, and it has adopted the agenda 21 principles, et cetera. We will not have time to really discuss this, but I can think of nothing more important to use the bully pulpit of the United Nations for, and hopefully more than just the bully pulpit, the substance and capacity of the U.N. to move this set of issues forward.

Senator Helms raised some very real and significant questions about sovereignty, and you and I have discussed them in the last days. There is going to be an increasing tension between this need to try to govern ourselves in this increasingly smaller planet and our capacity to fully represent our own aspirations and self-interest as it clashes with a need to give up something in order to be able to govern, and that is a tension that is going to greatly weigh on you and the President, I think, as we decide how to do that.

I am, for example, very apprehensive about giving up to a committee internationally the right to decide how American military men and women might fight and die in the future and in what circumstances, and yet, clearly we must have some standing capacity which moves more rapidly to be able to respond to the needs that we have seen.

Likewise, how we give up certain economic prerogatives in order to choose, as we must, some of the new courses of behavior with respect to these environmental problems we face is going to have to be fought out at the United Nations, and this will take a massive, educating, leadership role both for you and the President.

So, I am delighted you will have Cabinet status. I am delighted it is you who will be engaging in this extraordinary effort, and I personally look forward to spending a significant amount of my time in the course of the next years here trying to help resolve some of these issues and in working with you.

Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Senator Robb.

Senator ROBB. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I join in welcoming Dr. Albright. I am among, I guess, a virtually unanimous committee in being very pleased with her assignment.

We had a very good discussion the other day. I was as energized by that discussion as I have been with any recent nominee, in terms of virtually any administration in terms of what might be done regarding the potential for bringing the United Nations into its full potential, or helping it realize its full potential in due course.

I join with others in being particularly pleased that the former Secretary of State, the former distinguished Senator from Maine—and he has a number of other titles—is here this morning. I have profited, as others have, from working with him after he has left his official public role, and he has continued to maintain a deep and intense interest particularly in the area of Cambodia.

By his repeated willingness to get involved and to travel and to educate others who want more information substantively and with some sense of policy direction associated with it, we have all profited, and I am very pleased he is here, and I hope that we can continue to call on him for his wise counsel.

Senator KERRY. Would my colleague yield for just one quick observation?

Senator ROBB. Certainly.

Senator KERRY. I have to go back up to banking, and I apologize for leaving at this moment.

I know you said to me before you came here that you were extremely nervous about coming the day after the Inauguration because you thought the Republicans might be more ornery. I want you to know that while we were afraid we would not be able to even show up, it seems as though they have a bigger problem than we do, and we are here. [Laughter.]

Senator ROBB. For the record, I might observe that our new President has an ability to recover on repeated occasions, and to not give any evidence of whatever wear and tear he has experienced the night before unlike almost anybody I have ever met, and I cannot begin to approach that. I am still suffering some of the effects with several meetings here this morning.

Dr. Albright, let me just followup on one question on Cambodia. We talked about that, and obviously it has been a matter of ongoing interest to several of us who are here right now.

The current division of UNTAG into these nine sectors, in the eyes of most intelligence analysts has some sectors performing better than others. The sector—I think it is sector number 4, with Uruguayans—gets relatively high marks.

The Bulgarians in sector 9 get not necessarily as high marks in many cases, and the Indonesians are sometimes viewed as maybe taking their orders, instead of from Special Representative Akashi, taking them from Jakarta.

I wonder if you would like to comment on the kind of structure that either this or some future peacekeeping or monitoring role for U.N. missions might take that would at least resolve some of the difficulties that we are experiencing that go beyond what Senator Kerry was already addressing.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator Robb, I have read about all of these things myself, but I am not yet prepared to comment on them, but I would be delighted to explore them at the United Nations and also with you.

Senator ROBB. All right. I would be happy to followup at a little bit later time. I really do not mean to put you on the spot with some of these things, and I think a little caution from time to time in setting forth new policies is probably a very good idea.

Let me move to a different area, then. The role of peacekeepers generally, going back, and I think Senator Helms made a passing

reference to this and I had to step out for a few minutes, and maybe someone else did—but I do not think it has been fully explored.

Going back to the Beirut mission back in 1948 and the Kashmir mission in 1949, Cyprus in 1964, I think it was, Golan in 1974, and a number of others adding up to about 14, now, all of these peacekeeping missions have a starting point. None of them, to date, have a termination point.

I wonder if you would like to comment at all either in terms of the length of missions and in terms of the undermining effect of the peacekeeping force as opposed to the willingness or ability of the individuals in that particular country to take more responsibility for their own sense of direction.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, there is a process in place to review every one of these missions every 6 months, but I would agree with you that there is more of a prejudice to keeping them going rather than thinking about whether the original objectives are being carried out.

I think that one does need to think about how to transfer responsibility to the people in-country. The review should be more than a perfunctory one, and so we will look at that.

Senator ROBB. As we discussed, and I am sure you had an opportunity to discuss with most of the other members, the ongoing role of the United Nations and how we fulfill our obligations—and you have alluded to those earlier on your opening remarks—and what-have-you are going to be a continuing challenge, I suspect.

Let me explore one other area that I do not think, at least in terms of our private conversations, we had an opportunity to explore, and that I do not believe has been explored this morning. That has to do with the expanding role that the United Nations has had vis-a-vis regional organizations.

In Liberia, for instance, we have ECOMOG that has no direct United Nations responsibility working with the forces—attempting to work with the forces of both sides, you have ASEAN, you have the OAS here in our own hemisphere and what-have-you.

Would you care to comment on the kind of relationship that you would like to see exist between the United Nations and various regional organizations with respect to the kind of responsibility they would have for entering into any of the disputes or challenges that face those organizations, and should the United States membership in a regional organization have an impact on what we believe the U.N. role ought to be with respect to any intervention that might occur?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I think historically the relationship of regional organizations to the U.N. has been very interesting. Article 51 was really set up in order to be able to have regional organizations exist in combination with an international organization, and that has been the history, for instance, with the relationship with the OAS.

What I would think ought to happen, and Secretary Christopher also spoke about this, is that there ought to be a complementarity in terms of the way the regional organization and international organization work on any given issue.

Responsibility can be divided and complement each other—for instance, in Haiti, the combination of the OAS and U.N. in working

there. Clearly, we have to see what the proper role for NATO is within this, but again—and I hesitate to say this so many times, I do think that we are in uncharted waters on an awful lot of the issues that have to do with the way international organizations work, regional organizations work, the way that nation-states relate to international organizations.

This is where there are more questions than there are answers, and exactly because we are pushing the edge of the envelope here, I think we need to talk about this. Clearly, the U.N. cannot do everything.

There is not much point in regional organizations doing things that they are not capable of doing, and it falls to us to try to mesh them together along with our own interests. This is the part I think that has to be maintained centrally, in terms of where we come out as American foreign policymakers and which organization suits our interest the best.

Senator ROBB. Dr. Albright, I enjoyed the conversation that we had with respect to the proposals that were covered in part during the time that was here and part during a brief absence, with respect to the potential makeup of the kind of peacekeeping force that might not simply have the kind of representation it has today, with units maintaining their individual integrity, and some composition that is more akin to, say, the French Foreign Legion.

I do not think that we can explore that at great length today, but I just want to say again that I think that your interest in at least looking at the proposals and responding to some of the things that Senator Pell had in mind with respect to command of U.S. troops under any number of circumstances and President Clinton's—I did not hear his statement, but apparent statement on that recently gives us an opportunity to explore a number of relationships in the near term.

Mr. Chairman, having been on the end of the line in this committee for a number of years, and knowing that you sometimes miss a number of appointments and your lunch hour and what-have-you, I am going to yield any time that I may have remaining so that my friends and colleagues who are waiting patiently to ask some questions can do so before this panel adjourns.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much indeed.

I would turn to the Republican member, Mr. Coverdell.

Senator COVERDELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ambassador-designate Albright, it is certainly a pleasure to visit with you again. I enjoyed, as the others have indicated, our brief visit prior to the hearing. I have just a couple of comments and then a few questions, and then I will yield as well.

During the confirmation hearing of Secretary-designate Christopher, repeatedly we heard about many issues that I think are applicable to you. He talked about the creation of an America Desk, and that he would sit behind that desk. There were questions about a brooding, so to speak, in our country about our investment in foreign matters. I have a distinct feeling that those issues will embrace you just as much as they have him.

During your hearing here, and his as well, there have been discussions about the political agenda that occurs from time to time within the various compartments of the United Nations that have

caused Members of Congress to set in place restraints on payment of dues and other issues. They have also had an effect in the country, I believe, in terms of the popularity of the U.N. and our commitment to it.

We have talked today, and there have been many questions about the issue Senator Helms mentioned and others with regard to the relinquishing of the decision about the commitment to harm's way of an American soldier.

We have talked about, both in his hearing and yours, concerns—I think bipartisan concerns about reform and inefficiencies that have made the American public suspect.

As I traveled the country as the director of the Peace Corps, which you and I discussed, I found myself constantly having to confront the suspicion. I wonder if you could address this issue, just in a general response, and then I am going to have a few specific questions. You have alluded as did Secretary-designate Christopher, to the need to be out in the country explaining the mission.

One other point. You have also talked about redefinition, a new era, a new time for the United Nations. The dilemma is that you are defining the new era but you do not necessarily have the broad support among our public that is so important to this new definition.

How do you size that problem? How concerned are you about American attitudes with regard to the U.N., and when you have had time to think about how to embrace that, how would you do that, or do you think it needs to be done?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, those are all very important points. In your own work with the Peace Corps, you know what it is like to sell a foreign policy program to the American people.

I think the American people are very wise and understand an issue if it is brought to their attention in an appropriate way. It seems to me, if you look at where the world is, the issues that we have to deal with are issues that have to be dealt with multilaterally.

Senator Kerry spoke about environmental problems. No matter how strong we are, the United States cannot deal with those problems alone. The same goes for nuclear nonproliferation, which Senator Jeffords mentioned.

Narcotics trafficking is something that the United States cannot deal with alone. Hunger, population, those are all—I hesitate to use the word too often, but those are multilateral issues, and I think that Americans are very pragmatic and know which issues we can do by ourselves and which we cannot.

If it is explained in a particular way about how United Nations' attitudes, policies, affect Americans I think that people will understand.

The problem that I see, and I understand it very fully, and President Clinton has spoken about it, is that Americans at this stage need to have something done about what is going on here, which is why one of the pillars of President Clinton's foreign policy is economic security, doing something to rebuild America. As he said many times in the campaign, we cannot be strong abroad if we are not strong at home. I think that is a message that has to be brought together.

We spoke about this when we met. I hope we will meet more often. I think that this is a message that we somehow all need to carry together, because it is an unusual period where history is at the end of one era and at the beginning of another. We all know transitions are not easy, so I think this is an issue that I would welcome spending more time talking about with you and the American people.

Senator COVERDELL. You have in your prepared statement, just as Secretary-designate Christopher did, the declarative that we should make it a point to pay the past dues, and you both have elaborated on reasons.

Do you think that making that declarative statement prior to sorting out some of the issues that have impeded those payments is the appropriate way to begin—in other words, to set these concerns aside and bring them up to date and stay current—or do you think that that process of leverage, which is what it was, or is, is a viable one?

Should we maintain the option as pressure for certain reforms? Everybody has acknowledged that there are some major reforms in one degree or another, whether it is Senator Helms' statement that half the force is not working, or a lesser concern. Should payment of dues be a given option for a nation that has become disconcerted with efficiencies and reforms that are not occurring?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, I think we have made the point, and we will have to continue to press the point at the U.N.. that reforms are essential. But as I said in my statement, there is this fine line between losing credibility and having the leverage.

I think that it would be very useful to be able to go up there as a new Representative with the message that we are going to pay our bills, and I think that will put us in a much stronger position to press, and frankly, not just press but support Secretary General Boutros-Ghali, who has the sense that he wants to have reforms, and have us there with him working together on it.

Leverage may be the wrong word here. It is a matter of really putting our weight behind reforms, but I just know in my personal life if I do not pay my bills it is hard to get anybody to listen to me. So I do pay my bills. [General laughter.]

But I think the issue here is that we really do need to put our money where our mouth is on this issue.

Senator COVERDELL. Should that always be an option? Let us say we pay the bills and we do that for some period of time, and there is no reform.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I think we always have that option, Senator.

Senator COVERDELL. OK.

Second, when we have talked about the military question, which is obviously a sensitive one, in terms of the sovereignty of the decision. I have a suspicion that that sovereignty question is one that is going to grow in proportions beyond just the parameters of the military.

For example, I could envision a situation where a sovereignty question arose in this growing environmental issue. What is your thinking in terms of the incursion or erosion of the Nation's sovereign decision on the United Nations, versus military or other

matters that may come before it? How have you intellectualized that question of sovereignty?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I think it is the fascinating question of our time, as to whether a nation-state is likely to gain more for its citizens by giving up some portion of its sovereignty than it does by keeping it to itself. And I think there is no magic formula. For instance, on environmental issues, though I am not an expert on every aspect of these, it seems to me that we would gain in helping our own environmental situation if we were part of treaties and agreements that helped the environmental situation throughout the world.

So it is, in effect, giving up a piece of our sovereignty for a greater good.

I would never advocate giving up sovereignty for the American people in an area where it was in our vital interest.

Senator COVERDELL. That is an important answer. I appreciate that. I suspect that as you engage in this process of redefinition there is going to be an inordinate amount of time spent on that. And I think that is one of the issues that has the potential, let me say, of creating suspicion and fear. I would urge caution as you approach that issue.

Just one second. [Pause.]

Last question. You have been asked this before this morning, and I am sorry that I could not be here for the entire period, so I may be asking you to repeat. In both hearings the question of equity was discussed, and Senator Helms referred to it earlier. How serious do you view these questions of the formula of a sound financial base?

You have obviously repeated to me and others and elaborated on the reason you think past dues should be paid; how much attention do you give, or weight do you give to the formula by which the contribution is currently determined? Do you really believe there is a major imbalance in the funding now? How serious should we approach that issue?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I think we do need to approach it. We do know that the formula is based on the size of all members countries' economies, and I think we need to really look at how healthy their economies are, what they can pay. There is no doubt in my mind that the United States continues to be the most important and most powerful country in the world. And we bear a special responsibility for having that preeminent role.

On the other hand, we do not want to do it by ourselves, and therefore, I think we should be willing to explore various other formulations.

Senator COVERDELL. Thank you. My time is up.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Senator Wofford.

Senator WOFFORD. Mr. Chairman, the man next to you has gotten me in trouble in times past. He carries with honor and has earned all the titles we bestow on him, but I will not forget carrying a Muskie banner at a national political convention, nor has one of my colleagues in our body forgotten that he saw me carrying that banner, too.

I am delighted and honored to be here with him.



I have known Madeleine Albright for at least 25 years, and we have argued and talked about foreign policy off and on over those years. And I have seen her rise to every new challenge she has had, and rise well. I think she is farsighted and clearheaded and has good judgment. I have great confidence in her judgment. And I think she is an excellent appointment to the United Nations.

Her farsightedness, however, is in question. She did predict that the timing of this meeting would result in the Democrats either being absent or sleepy and the Republicans all being here full of bounce. The former Director of the Peace Corps, the Senator from Georgia, is always full of bounce. But I think, so far, we have been moving along and your prophetic powers are small.

But I think your answers to these questions, at least half a dozen of which I intended to ask you, demonstrate that if we are moving from what Senator Helms calls the talk, talk, talk stage of the United Nations to a constructive period of building it into an organization that has peacemaking and peacekeeping powers, a standing force and other creative possibilities that are now opened by the end of the cold war, and the recognized need for a world organization with power to keep the peace, you have the skills that one would like to have around the table, working together with people. And I think we have seen some of that in your answers today.

So, I think there is a double fortune we can celebrate today: one, that you go to the United Nations at a time when there is every reason to think it will be a creative and constructive period; and, second, that we have you going to the United Nations.

I was glad you were concerned with the United Nations as a bureaucracy. I, too, in the Peace Corps, saw parts of the United Nations operations that made me wish that it had a lot of reform, not just the constitutional reforms that you were talking about at the beginning, but in the way it actually operates. And your answer showed you are seriously interested in doing that.

And Senator Helms' concern about the proportions working in the United Nations reminded me of Pope John's comment. On the first day of his election as Pope, he was asked by a New York Times reporter, How many people work in the Vatican? And he said, About half. [Laughter.]

I only have two questions. One is, and you may not feel ready to say very much about it, but how, with China on the Security Council and China in so many areas being one of the critical problems in human rights, environmental degradation, nuclear dumping and population transfers in Tibet, how do you see the United Nations helping to deal with these problems?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Well, I believe very strongly in what President Clinton said, that we have to keep straight what our principles are as we deal with various countries, and not to forget who we are. Many of the problems that we see in China have to do with human rights issues and all the issues that you list. And we cannot give up one policy in a way that really undercuts another one. And I think here what we have to do is be clear about where we stand on China.

Senator WOFFORD. My other question is also related to the bureaucracy of the United Nations and the high salaries that Senator Helms was referring to. One of the United Nations' antidotes to

that of old was its own parallel little Peace Corps program of United Nations volunteers. Have you kept up with that at all, and do you see a future role for an expansion of a multilateral United Nations kind of Peace Corps that was doing good work when I was following it in Africa and elsewhere?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Yes. In fact, I was briefed about that in the last week because I found it so interesting. I was told that, in effect, putting one of the United Nations Peace Corps volunteers out is a very cost effective thing to do. There are a number of people that want to go. I think it is something that we should think about supporting more fulsomely, in terms of the way that we really address ourself to that issue.

I think we find in any number of areas that volunteers do a better job. And I think that, again, the United Nations volunteer corps is a very important one.

Senator WOFFORD. Sargent Shriver, at the very beginning had one of the streams of the Peace Corps itself going through the United Nations, and Franklin Williams was sent to the United Nations to promote this. And I do not know if Senator Coverdell looked into that in his days in the Peace Corps, but that would involve Peace Corps volunteers actually being assigned to work alongside of the United Nations volunteers in joint projects.

That is all that I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Wofford. Senator Feingold.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members.

First, I also have to add—seeing Secretary of State Muskie—that 20 years ago in Madison, WI, I saw Senator Muskie on the campaign trail, and that was a time of tremendous turmoil on that campus. I remember that he was not treated with the regard that a Presidential candidate should have been treated. And I remember the dignity with which he handled that. I had the opportunity to meet him at that time, so I am honored to be here with him.

Dr. Albright, I am delighted to join in welcoming you. You have also been to Wisconsin. I enjoyed the comments of Senator Sarbanes, who said that it would be great if you could get out around the country and see the country and explain the role of the United Nations, and work with the people of the country to do that. And I have already seen you do that.

In Wasau, WI, a couple of years ago, you came out to a meeting of citizens there. And I, along with the others, enjoyed your ability to make clear some concepts and some notions of foreign policy that are often not brought to people in an area like that on a regular basis.

So I know you will be a wonderful Ambassador to the United Nations, and also will play a great role in that regards. So I am delighted to see you here.

I just have a couple of quick questions; it has been a long morning. Last fall, the Bush administration urged the United Nations to appoint an inspector general to help clean up the waste and mismanagement problems. I notice today in the Post a discussion on the W.H.O. decision that possibly this had something to do with the United States position on who should continue in that position. I am wondering what you think about that proposal and, just a lit-

tle more broadly, to what degree will you personally be involved in pushing in the direction of management reforms?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Senator, we have favored the establishment of the post of Inspector General, because I really do think that it is important to get a grip on some of the bureaucratic problems. And I see it as a major part of my role in New York to work on this reform issue.

It is clearly something that is troubling not only to all of you, but the new administration, because all of us want our money spent well. And I think it is an issue that everybody at the United Nations wants to support, but we also want to make sure that it is spent properly.

So I can assure you that I will spend a lot of time on this.

Senator FEINGOLD. OK.

The other type of question I have has to do with the fact that the Secretary-General, in his report last September, stressed the difficulty the United Nations faces in meeting the demands of fiscal obligations, which we have talked about a little bit today—not only the United States not meeting its fiscal obligations to the United Nations, but other countries failing to do so as well. He stressed that these problems cause failures in the organization and the inability to respond to an immediate crisis. And one suggestion he made, apparently, was to establish a temporary peacekeeping reserve of \$50 million to meet the initial expenses of peacekeeping operations, pending receipt of assessed contributions.

Another idea that he mentioned was a United Nations peace endowment fund, with an initial target of \$1 billion, possibly to be funded by a combination of assessed and voluntary contributions from the private sector and individuals. The idea, I guess, is that interest from the principal would then be used to finance the initial costs of peacekeeping and related activities.

Do you think something along these lines, in terms of having a special fund available for immediate crisis intervention costs, would be worth pursuing at the United Nations?

Dr. ALBRIGHT. What we have seen is that the United Nations is in a position of robbing Peter to pay Paul any number of times to be able to fund these peacekeeping operations. And I think it would be useful to review the possibilities for having some money available for fast-breaking problems, in terms of the peacekeeping operations. I think we should explore those possibilities.

Senator FEINGOLD. And of course, I realize you probably have not settled on opinions on all these specific items, but I am interested. I will just finish with one other related type of question. Another suggestion in the report was to look for even new sources of funding for the United Nations, for example, a levy on arms sales, a levy on international air travel, tax exemption for contributions to the United Nations.

I realize you are not settled on all these matters at this point necessarily, but I'm interested in your observations on alternative funding mechanisms.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. I think we have to search for them. I think those are all excellent suggestions, and we will review them. Because there clearly is a need, somehow, to raise funds for operations that

are vital to the international community. So I appreciate the suggestions.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you again, and I welcome you and look forward to working with you.

I yield the balance of my time, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Feingold.

I have just a couple of very brief points. One, I am a member of the U.S. Commission on the Effectiveness of the United Nations, so that will be another hat that I will be wearing in, not harassing you, but communicating with you, to which I look forward.

I would also say that the question of sovereignty and the use of our troops, we have a certain authority, a certain sovereignty remaining to us through the application of the veto, and that has not been mentioned. But it is a very real fact.

And third, I would hope it is your intention to make use of the 14 tons of documents, of war crimes documents of the Iraqis, and that you would do your best to set into motion some kind of United Nations tribunal.

I think we have drawn to a close. This has been a very instructive hearing, graced by the former candidate for President and our colleague, Senator Muskie, graced, Dr. Albright, by you and the excellent way you have answered the questions.

The record will stay open until the close of the day today, and we expect to hold an executive meeting this coming Tuesday. And, as I say, we welcome questions. Senator Helms will be submitting six or seven, and there will be some others.

We wish you well and congratulate you on being here.

Dr. ALBRIGHT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, members of the committee.

[The prepared statements of Senators Mathews and Pressler follow:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR HARLAN MATHEWS

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to welcome Madeleine Albright to the Committee today and express my support for her nomination as the United States Representative to the United Nations.

I recently met with Ms. Albright and know that she will bring a great deal of experience to the position. Seasoned leadership is critical to the United States' relationships and interactions around the world.

Recent conflicts in Africa, Eastern Europe and the Middle East underscore the significance of the United Nations in today's diplomatic relations, especially its role as a peacekeeping force. I remain greatly concerned by developments in the former Soviet Union and I hope that Ms. Albright can work closely with Secretary of State Christopher in supporting the spread of democracy throughout Eastern Europe.

The United States is looked to as the preeminent power in the world and its role at the United Nations cannot be second-guessed. It is imperative that the President select an individual with a strong understanding of international issues and an ability to communicate with allies and adversaries alike. I believe Ms. Albright possesses these capabilities.

I would like to remind Ms. Albright that my predecessor, Vice President Al Gore, Jr., played a significant role in the recent United Nations' Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). Sustainable development around the world is of great importance to the United States and environmental sensitivity will be a major component of this development.

I hope that Ms. Albright, with the support of the administration, will encourage conformity with the documents which were drafted at UNCED: Agenda 21 and the Conventions on Global Warming and Biodiversity. Future world leadership will depend largely upon our ability to provide leadership in the areas of environmental

protection and sustainable development at home and abroad. The many arms of the United Nations provide an opportunity for this, and I trust Ms. Albright will approach here duties with this in mind.

Again, I pledge my support to Ms. Albright in her duties and look forward to her speedy confirmation.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR LARRY PRESSLER

Mr. Chairman, I'd like to thank you for holding this hearing today and for warmly welcoming Madeleine Albright. I also would like to thank the esteemed Senator from North Carolina for his kind remarks about my involvement with the United Nations. As you know, recently, my colleague from Maryland, Senator Sarbanes, and I had the privilege of serving as Congressional Delegates to the United Nations 47th General Assembly. My experience at the U.N. allowed me to view, first hand, the intricate workings of the international peacekeeping body.

While at the U.N., I also had the opportunity to present the U.S. position on U.N. budget reform the Fifth Committee. In my speech, I outlined several examples of the wasteful mismanagement and abuse prevalent in the U.N. bureaucracy. It seems that the U.N. secretariat has been unable or unwilling to take necessary corrective measures to end the fraudulent activities. The U.N. needs reform.

According to a U.N. Board of Auditors report, the secretariat has ignored internal audit findings and has not ensured that corrective actions are being implemented. I am troubled particularly by the Board's observation that the recurring nature of some of these problems was due to "the lack of determination to enforce regulations and rules and making the heads of units of the organization accountable for their decisions and actions." There are difficult tasks ahead for the U.N. and its members if the international organization is to correct such mismanagement.

Recently, I was appointed to serve on the U.S. Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations. I will be replacing my esteemed colleague from Kansas, Senator Kassebaum. The Commission will study several areas during hearings held throughout the year. At the conclusion of the hearings, the Commission will prepare a report to be presented to Congress and the President. Some of the areas to be studied by the Commission will include: conflict resolution and maintenance of international peace, U.N. management and administration, economic and social programs, including the promotion of human rights, nuclear proliferation, international terrorism, and environmental protection. The Commission will present fresh and innovative perspectives on the efficacy of the U.N. system in advancing world peace in the changing global order.

I look forward to working with Ms. Albright through my participation on the Commission. Together—Congress, the U.N., and the U.S. Commission—we can confront the needs and changing roles of the U.N. to make it as productive and efficient as possible.

[Whereupon, at 1:05 p.m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]



## APPENDIX

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### RESPONSES OF DR. ALBRIGHT TO QUESTIONS ASKED BY SENATOR HELMS

*Question.* The Israeli government has been excluded from the Asian group at the United Nations due to opposition of several Arab states. In response, the Israelis have requested temporary membership on the Western European and Others Group. The E.C. has been reluctant to allow Israel to join this regional group.

In your position as the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., how would you seek to advance Israel's request for membership in the WEOG?

*Answer.* U.S. administrations have worked with Israel for a number of years in pursuit of its membership in a U.N. regional grouping. The Clinton administration will continue to support vigorously Israeli diplomatic efforts in New York and in WEOG capitals to secure temporary WEOG membership until such time as Israel gains membership in its appropriate geographic grouping.

*Question.* In your estimation, do you believe that a broader and more complete U.N. role in the Somali aid operation from day one could have averted the need for such strong U.S. presence in Operation Restore Hope?

*Answer.* The original Security Council Resolution authorizing the deployment of U.N. food security guards was limited in scope. Its implementation necessitated a security agreement be negotiated by the Secretary General's Special Representative to Somalia with the major Somali warring factions to allow for the safe delivery of food supplies. As the envoy's considerable efforts were stalemated, both the U.S. and the U.N. concluded that a military force with broader authority was needed to ensure the secure delivery and distribution of relief supplies in the non-permissive Somali environment. Under UNSCR 794, the United States was authorized to lead an international coalition force to perform this humanitarian mission.

*Question.* How willing will you be as our U.N. Ambassador to call for equitable burden sharing in future aid operations?

*Answer.* If I am confirmed as the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, I will strongly support equitable burden sharing on the part of all nations in any future aid operation. Wide participation in humanitarian relief by those nations who are economically more secure would amply demonstrate goodwill and concern for those in need as well as spreading the cost.

*Question.* Article 43 of the United Nations Charter outlines provisions for the activation of the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations.

Will the Clinton administration continue to oppose activation of the Military Staff Committee? Please explain your rationale.

What specific steps will the administration take to ensure that any U.S. forces contributed to U.N. activities remain under American command?

*Answer.* The United States has consistently favored concrete, practical proposals to enhance the United Nations' ability to mount effective, cost-efficient peacekeeping operations. The administration will be evaluating potential means to advance this objective.

This administration will ensure that any commitment of U.S. forces to U.N. activities will be made only in the context of a properly constructed mandate, a competent command structure, adequate resources, and appropriate rules of engagement for the accomplishment of the mission.

*Question.* Under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, a member state of the U.N. has the inherent right to defend itself if the Security Council is unable to stem aggression.

Since the Security Council has failed abysmally to resolve the Bosnian crisis, will you uphold the right of the Bosnian people to defend their state?

*Answer.* The question in effect is whether we will urge the Security Council to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As Secretary Christopher said during his confirmation hearing, this is an idea that we are considering. Obviously it would require consultation and agreement with others on the Security Council and with our allies.

*Question.* Will the Clinton administration urge the United Nations to take specific steps to enforce the no-fly zone over Bosnia?

*Answer.* We will vigorously seek a resolution authorizing the enforcement of a no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina. President Clinton has endorsed a resolution authorizing enforcement of the no-fly zone.

*Question.* Will the Clinton administration continue to uphold the ban on U.S. contributions to the UNFPA?

*Answer.* No.

*Question.* In December the United Nations became involved in diplomatic efforts to resolve the constitutional crisis in Haiti. Among other recent developments, an agreement has been reached between the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and the Haitian military which could increase to 400 the number of international observers on the island.

What implications does this new activism of the United Nations, exemplified by its intervention in Haiti, have for regional organizations like the Organization of American States?

*Answer.* The U.N. Secretary General has repeatedly recognized the importance of the OAS as the relevant regional organization in promoting a solution to the Haitian crisis. The OAS and its members have worked actively, since the October 1991 coup, to effect the restoration of constitutional government in Haiti.

At an *ad hoc* meeting on December 13 the OAS Foreign Ministers gave the OAS Secretary General a mandate to work with the U.N. Secretary General to search for a peaceful solution to the crisis in Haiti. The two Secretary Generals have named former Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo as their special representative on Haiti. The Haitian parties recently expressed support for a joint UN/OAS mission with a strong human rights component, and the two organizations are discussing terms of reference for such a mission. The terms will have to be approved by the Haitian parties.

As Mr. Caputo has been quick to point out, U.N. involvement in Haiti should not be seen as a vote of "no confidence" in the OAS's efforts.

*Question.* Do you believe there is a role for U.N. military forces to play in the restoration of President Aristide?

*Answer.* Thus far, efforts toward solving the crisis have centered on the need for negotiation between the parties, respect for Haitians' constitutional rights, and the presence of international monitors to prevent human rights abuses and build confidence among the parties. We expect that emphasis to continue.

*Question.* Given the persistent allegation of President Aristide's involvement in torture and human rights abuse, do you believe it is appropriate for the United Nations to push specifically for Aristide's restoration to power in Haiti?

*Answer.* The U.S. supports the U.N. and OAS's goals of helping to restore constitutional government and support for human rights in Haiti. The UNGA has called, most recently in its November 24 resolution on Haiti, for the restoration of the legitimate government of President Jean Bertrand Aristide, together with the full application of the country's constitution, and the U.S. endorses that position. This includes, necessarily, full observance of human rights in Haiti. We expect that any joint OAS/U.N. mission to Haiti would focus heavily on ensuring human rights there.

*Question.* On December 4, 1992, the United Nations General Assembly criticized Cuba for human rights violations, and called on Havana to adopt measures proposed by the U.N.'s special rapporteur on Cuba, Carl-Johann Groth of Sweden. A week later, on December 10, the U.N. International Human Rights Day, members of Cuba's dissident community were beaten, arrested, and intimidated. Clearly, Cuba does not give much weight to the sanctions of the United Nations.

What in your view, should be done at the level of the United Nations, to strengthen sanctions against Cuba for its human rights violations and to promote freedom for the Cuban people?

*Answer.* We firmly intend to continue U.S. efforts to keep international attention focused on the ongoing human rights abuses that are taking place in Cuba. During the 1993 session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission we will again sponsor a strong resolution on human rights violations in Cuba. We expect the Commission to renew the mandate of Special Rapporteur Groth based on the report which he will present there. The resolution will also call for an interim report to the next General Assembly, which will give that body further opportunity to examine human rights abuses in Cuba.

*Question.* On November 24, 1992, the United Nations voted to urge the international community to boycott measures in the Cuban Democracy Act designed to strengthen the embargo against Cuba. Nevertheless, the Cuban Democracy Act is supported by President Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Will you



work to implement the terms of the Cuban Democracy Act through the United Nations?

Answer. Yes.

**Question.** Under the auspices of the United Nations, the anti-democratic, marxist FMLN guerrillas have gained more concessions from the Government of El Salvador than they gained during the entire course of their armed insurrection. Currently, President Cristiani is being pressured by the United Nations to purge the Salvadoran of alleged human rights abusers, even though there are many problems with how these alleged human rights abusers were determined and how their removal en masse will affect national security.

What are your view on the Salvadoran peace process?

Answer. The administration supports the full implementation of the Peace Accords by both sides, including the *Ad Hoc* Commission's recommendations. We are aware of the complaints made about the procedures used by the *Ad Hoc* Commission, but believe that the overall effect of the implementation of its recommendations will be to strengthen the ESAF as a professional military institution and that the security of El Salvador will be thereby enhanced.

**Question.** Do you think the United Nations has acted fairly in its arbitration of the Salvadoran peace process?

Answer. Yes, I do believe the United Nations has acted fairly. It has sometimes received criticism from both sides, but this is one sign that it is doing its job. Without United Nations efforts, the Salvadoran peace process would not be the success it has become.

**Question.** Do you have any criticisms about the way that the United Nations has handled its role in the Salvadoran peace process?

Answer. I believe the U.N. has carried out its role appropriately.

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#### RESPONSES OF DR. ALBRIGHT TO QUESTIONS ASKED BY SENATOR PRESSLER

**Question.** Diplomats note that the Europeans hold the key to ending the anti-Israel voting pattern. Changes in the European vote will lead other blocks to reassess their votes. Is the incoming administration prepared to elicit European cooperation?

Answer. The United States has lobbied hard in European capitals and with European U.N. missions in New York to support a balanced approach on UNGA resolutions concerning Israel and the Arabs. During the last UNGA, the Arabs moderated the language of several resolutions they presented in an effort to attract greater European support. To some extent they were successful, since in a number of cases European countries abstained on resolutions they had voted against in the past. The incoming Administration will make a major effort to convince the Europeans of the importance of redressing Israel's isolation at the U.N. If there is progress in the peace process, our task will be easier.

**Question.** Since President Clinton recognizes Jerusalem as the undivided capital of Israel, can we assume that you will oppose resolutions referring to Jerusalem as "occupied Palestinian territories?"

Answer. It is our intention to oppose language in any resolution under consideration by the Security Council that refers to Jerusalem as "occupied Palestinian territories."

**Question.** What role do you envision for the U.N. in the Mideast peace process? Which U.N. actions, in your opinion, undermine the peace process?

Answer. The Madrid Conference established the framework for the peace process, according to which the parties negotiate directly, with the U.S. and Russia acting as cosponsors. UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338 are the accepted bases of the negotiations. The parties have accepted a U.N. role as a participant at the multilateral working groups. Unbalanced condemnations of Israel by the U.N. and attempts to isolate Israel in U.N. bodies reduce the U.N.'s effectiveness in the peace process.

**Question.** Will the new administration support Israel's campaign to "normalize" its status at the U.N? Can you Lay out specific steps you intend to take?

Answer. We attach a high priority to reducing Israel's isolation at the U.N. We certainly think Israel has a right to participate fully in a regional grouping, and have been pursuing this objective actively. We consult closely with the Israeli Government on the priority of the steps we take, and I can assure you we attach great importance to this goal.

**Question.** In your role at the U.N., what steps would you take to promote non-proliferation?

Answer. The United Nations has played a constructive role in international non-proliferation efforts:

In a U.N. Security Council summit last year, the Council stated that it would be seized of this matter.

U.N. specialized agencies, such as the IAEA, play a vital role in preventing proliferation and in giving countries the necessary confidence to refrain from seeking weapons of mass destruction. Clearly, as in the case of Iraq, the U.N. can play a vital role. We will work to make sure that the IAEA can play its role effectively.

The recent signing of the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), negotiated by the Conference on Disarmament under U.N. auspices and approved by the General Assembly, is a significant step toward the elimination of chemical weapons. The U.S. strongly supports the CWC and will continue to press for universal adherence to the Convention.

The U.N. is opening a conventional arms register in April of this year to promote transparency in armaments. This register should prove a useful nonproliferation tool.

*Question.* Do you support country-specific efforts to halt the growing spread of chemical and advanced nuclear weapons to third world regions like Pakistan and India?

A. Yes.

*Question.* As you know, Ms. Albright, there is no question that the United Nations is in desperate need of reform. The U.N. Board of Auditors has revealed continuing instances of mismanagement, waste, abuse, and in some cases fraud. How can meaningful reform be achieved? Do you believe that reform should come from within the institution, with the charge led from the very top leadership? As the primary source of U.N. support, what kind of role can the United States play to encourage, or insist upon U.N. reform?

Answer. Ultimately, the real drive for reform in any organization has to come from the top leadership. Of course, as the largest contributor, the United States has a significant interest in ensuring that the necessary reforms are achieved. We should and do use our influence toward this end.

The new Secretary General has begun the process of reform. We have supported his efforts to streamline and rationalize the U.N. Secretariat. We will continue working with the Secretary General and other member states to make the U.N. a more efficient and cost effective organization.

*Question.* One example of abuse not covered by the U.N. Board of Auditors audit report for the biennium 1990-91 concerns independent salary decisions by organizations within the U.N. The salary scale for U.N. employees is in the range of 10 to 20 percent higher than for comparative positions in the U.S. Civil Service System. Last year, the Executive Director of the U.N.'s International Telecommunications Union in Geneva awarded 90 percent of its staff a "special pay allowance" amounting to an additional 3 to 4 percent temporary pay increase, which cost the U.N. \$1.3 million.

The rationale used was that all of these employees had accepted additional responsibilities. The U.N. General Assembly condemned this action in a resolution. Despite the rejection of the special pay allowance by the General Assembly, the Secretary General approved the additional pay.

In your opinion, Ms. Albright, why aren't such blatant examples of abuse and fraud vigorously pursued? Is it because the U.N. lacks the will to change its character? What would you recommend as a solution to discourage such fraudulent actions? What can be done? How active do you plan to be regarding U.N. reform?

Answer. Let me assure you Senator Pressler, the United States will continue to take an active role in promoting needed reforms.

With regard to the issue of the special pay allowance in the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), let me clarify that this was an action taken by an autonomous international organization over which the U.N. Secretary General and the U.N. General Assembly have no control or authority. The U.S. vigorously tried to persuade the Secretary General of ITU not to proceed with plans to grant a first tranche of this bonus and to get the ITU membership to pass a resolution to prevent payment of the second and last tranche.

Although we were unable to muster enough votes in the ITU Governing Body to reverse the decision around, we were successful in having the Governing Body of ITU pass a resolution that ITU should refrain from such action in the future. Further we were successful in having, as you point out, the U.N. itself condemn the ITU's action.

We also were successful in having the U.N. General Assembly pass a resolution that requests governing bodies of member organizations to invite the International Civil Service Commission to be represented at meetings where conditions of service are to be considered. This action should help prevent similar problems.

*Question.* Many developing countries view the U.N. as a veritable—and venerable—cornucopia. These countries use U.N. personnel and other systems masterfully. Their officials vigorously tap resources to enrich their countries, their friends and themselves. Numerous examples of outrageous abuse are well documented. Yet, again, nothing is done to correct them. This “feeding trough” mentality demonstrates a failure of institutional character.

Why does the U.N. function in this manner? Would you support the creation of a tough, independent U.N. Inspector General? If so, do you believe that a U.N. Inspector General is likely to accomplish anything if the current U.N. system is not reformed?

*Answer.* We strongly support the creation of a tough, independent U.N. Inspector General. We would expect that the creation of such a position, coupled with reform efforts now underway and those to come, will go a long way toward preventing many of the problems brought out in the U.N.’s audit report.

*Question.* Do you support the continued suspension of Serbia/Montenegro from the United Nations? At what point—if at all—should Serbia/Montenegro be granted membership?

*Answer.* Serbia/Montenegro has not been suspended from membership in the United Nations. The U.N. has determined that the former Yugoslav state has ceased to exist and that Serbia/Montenegro, like all other newly independent republics, should reapply for membership in the U.N.

*Question.* Do you support U.N. membership for Macedonia? Please explain your rationale.

*Answer.* As you know, there has been a disagreement between the government of Greece and the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia about what the latter would call itself as an independent state. The Greek government does not object to its independence or its membership in the U.N. but only to its calling itself the Republic of Macedonia. We would like to see a resolution of this issue that will promote stability in both Macedonia and Greece and therefore in the Balkans generally.

*Question.* Could you outline concrete steps you will take to defend the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo within the United Nations system?

*Answer.* This, like other issues with regard to the former Yugoslavia, is an issue President Clinton and his advisors will consider a high priority.

*Question.* 23 percent of all U.N. humanitarian shipments for Bosnia which go through the Sarajevo airport go directly to the Bosnian Serbs. Do you support the U.N. policy of negotiating with the Bosnian Serbs to bring humanitarian relief and U.N. peacekeeping forces to the beleaguered Bosnians?

Should the Bosnian Serbs have the right to veto U.N. efforts? If not, what specific steps will you take to ensure that they do not?

*Answer.* All conflicting parties in the former Yugoslavia have committed themselves at the London Conference to allow the transport and distribution of humanitarian assistance to all people in need. Any forced negotiation with the Bosnian Serbs or any other party to allow the passage of relief materials is a breach of this agreement, and we condemn it. In order to reach the in-need population at large, the U.N. has negotiated passage with the Bosnian Serbs and others. This should not be necessary; no party should be permitted to prevent or delay assistance reaching the needy.

U.N. Security Council Resolution 770 mandates the use of “all necessary measures” to deliver humanitarian assistance in the former Yugoslavia. The Bosnian Serbs’ consequently, do not have the right to veto or obstruct U.N. efforts. We have repeatedly called for the free passage of humanitarian assistance to those in need in accordance with the London Agreements. We will continue to press for full compliance by working with our allies to enforce sanctions.

*Question.* Will you urge the Security Council to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia?

*Answer.* As Secretary Christopher said during his confirmation hearing, this is an idea that we are considering. We would of course consult with our allies and Security Council colleagues before proceeding on the issue.

*Question.* What specific steps will the Clinton administration take if the Russians block U.N. or U.S. efforts in the former Yugoslavia?

*Answer.* Thus far, we have worked closely with the Russians both bilaterally and in multilateral fora, such as the U.N. and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in an effort to reach a political solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. The Russians continue to indicate their willingness to cooperate with us in trying to resolve the crisis. Should their approach change, we would have to consider our response, together with our allies and other partners. I’m not prepared at this point to discuss what specific steps might be taken.



*Question.* Do you support the establishment of a U.N. War Crimes Tribunal to investigate Serbian government atrocities, including prosecution of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic?

*Answer.* The United States is actively supporting the investigation of atrocities in former Yugoslavia, including Serbian government atrocities. We proposed the establishment of the U.N. War Crimes Commission to investigate atrocities and prepare information useful for the prosecutions. It is imperative that persons responsible for atrocities be held individually responsible.

*Question.* United Nations forces have been on Cyprus since 1964—far longer than originally expected. In your opinion, when should U.N. forces be withdrawn from Cyprus? Do you support the inclusion of a specific “sunset clause” for U.N. peace-keeping missions?

*Answer.* The Cypriot parties, in U.N.-sponsored face-to-face negotiations during 1992, have moved closer to agreement than at any prior time in the long history of this problem. We hope when the talks reconvene in March the sides will be able to bridge the gaps and reach agreement on a framework for a fair and permanent solution based on the U.N. “set of ideas.” Achievement of such a fair and permanent solution would allow for the withdrawal of the U.N. Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

Over the last year the number of personnel in UNFICYP has been reduced from approximately 2,100 to fewer than 1,500. The Security Council will soon consider proposals being formulated by the Secretariat for further UNFICYP restructuring.

As a general principle, U.N. peacekeeping forces should not remain in place any longer than necessary.

*Question.* According to press reports, you originated the idea to reorganize U.S. assistance programs to East Europe and the former Soviet Union within the State Department.

In your opinion, should the Coordinator for U.S. assistance to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union be moved to the White House? If so, what affect will this move have on U.S. bilateral assistance programs?

Should responsibility for assistance programs remain within A.I.D. or should it be shifted to the State Department?

*Answer.* The Freedom Support Act and the East European Democracy Act require the President to designate a coordinator for assistance to the New Independent States and a coordinator for aid to Eastern Europe within the Department of State. The new administration is still working on organization of assistance coordination. Thus far, Ambassador-designate Strobe Talbott has been named to handle the coordination of assistance to the NIS. He will report to the Secretary of State and act as his Special Advisor on the New Independent States. Because of the strategic importance of our assistance to the NIS, it is key that the assistance program be consistent with our overall foreign policy goals. Before leaving office, Secretary Eagleburger designated Secretary Christopher as the coordinator for aid to Eastern Europe.

The question of placing responsibility for assistance programs under USAID or the State Department is under active consideration.

*Question.* The position of Ambassador to the United Nations has been elevated to a Cabinet level position by President Clinton. The U.S. Mission to the United Nations is a branch of the Bureau for International Organization Affairs. What specific steps will you take to clear lines of authority with the Bureau for International Organization Affairs?

*Answer.* With some exceptions, the Permanent Representative to the United Nations has been a Cabinet level position since the first Eisenhower administration. The Permanent Representative in New York traditionally has recognized the Bureau of International Organization Affairs (IO) as a repository of experience and expertise in U.N. affairs. The U.S. Mission to the United Nations is not, however, “a branch of the Bureau for International Organization Affairs” as stated in your question. It is my intention to develop strong and effective ties with IO including regular consultation with Bureau leadership.

As I said to Senator Lugar in response to a similar question, the President and the Secretary of State are the chief architects of American foreign policy. My authority derives from the President’s Constitutional responsibilities for the conduct of foreign policy and flows from him through the Secretary of State. Therefore, the only authorized channel for instructions to me is through the Secretary or directly from the President.

*Question.* In July 1992, Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev called for the establishment of a U.N. Trusteeship Council over the Baltic States. He cited gross human rights violations against the Russian, Ukrainian, and Jewish populations. On September 30, the Russian delegation to the General Assembly warned Estonia and Latvia against a policy of “ethnic cleansing.”

Is the establishment of a trusteeship over the Baltic states appropriate? Please explain your rationale.

**Answer.** We do not believe a trusteeship over the Baltic States is appropriate. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are all independent states, recognized by the U.S., and members of the U.N.

**Question.** Do you agree that the Baltic governments have not instituted laws that restrict the basic human rights of the Russian, Ukrainian, or Jewish populations in the Baltic states? Please be specific.

**Answer.** Estonia and Lithuania have passed citizenship laws comparable to those in several Western democracies. Latvia still is considering the details of its citizenship law. While all three states seem to be moving in the right direction, we will of course remain interested in whether the laws are implemented in a non-discriminatory manner.

**Question.** What specific steps will you take to support the Baltic representatives to the United Nations in their requests to the Secretary General to urge and monitor the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from the Baltic States?

**Answer.** The U.S. fully supports Baltic demands that Russian forces withdraw expeditiously from the Baltics. We are not aware of any active request by the Baltic states to the Secretary General for monitoring of Russian troop withdrawals.

We have discussed this question with other European states in multinational fora (CSCE, NACC, U.N.).

Under the Byrd Amendment of the 1992 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act, the U.S. Government can only disburse 50 percent of the funds under the Freedom Support Act (except for humanitarian assistance) unless the President can certify by June 1, 1993, that "substantial progress" has been made on withdrawals.

**Question.** Do you support the negotiation of a U.N. Convention on Minority Rights? Please explain your rationale.

**Answer.** International human rights treaties already provide that everyone should enjoy fundamental human rights without discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, language, religion, ethnicity, or other status.

Existing U.N. and CSCE instruments also provide that persons belonging to minorities have rights to preserve their identity and culture.

The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (to which the United States became a party in September 1992) provides that members of ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, profess and practice their own religion, or to practice their own language.

In addition, two U.N. and CSCE declarations, which are politically rather than legally binding, make clear that persons belonging to minorities have the right to use their mother tongue, to profess and practice their religion, to maintain their own educational, cultural, and religious institutions, and generally to preserve and develop their identity and culture.

The U.N. General Assembly unanimously adopted a Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities in December.

The Copenhagen Document, which the CSCE adopted in June 1990, contains a number of provisions on the rights of persons belonging to minorities, and was followed by a July 1991 meeting of experts that agreed on additional provisions.

We have not yet had a chance to consider whether an additional standard-setting exercise would be productive. We certainly will press for implementation of minority rights already recognized by the international community. In this regard, we note that the CSCE recently created a High Commissioner for National Minorities, whose mandate includes the implementation of existing standards.

#### RESPONSES OF DR. ALBRIGHT TO QUESTIONS ASKED BY SENATOR KERRY

**Question.** Last April, the Security Council imposed some modest sanctions against Libya for its failure to turn over for trial the two individuals charged with blowing up Pan Am 103, at the cost of 270 lives, 189 of whom were Americans. Unfortunately, the sanctions have not yet been effective. Late last fall, a number of Senators, including Senators Kennedy, Moynihan, Dodd, Wolford and myself, urged the President to push for a U.N. ban on purchases of Libyan oil, but the administration has refused to do so.

I understand that the prospects for obtaining a ban on buying oil from Libya may not be too promising, but the policy is clearly the right one and I would like to see my government pushing for it as hard as possible. What are your thoughts?

**Answer.** The Clinton administration is committed to bring to justice those responsible for the bombing of Pan Am 103 and UTA 772 bombings.

The United Nations Security Council took precedent-setting action last January when it adopted UNSC resolution 731, which embodied the demands of France, the United Kingdom, and the U.S. that Libya turn over the suspects in both bombings, cooperate in the international investigations, pay appropriate compensation, and end all support for international terrorism. When Libya failed to do so, the U.N. Security Council adopted resolution 748 which imposed military, diplomatic and civil aviation sanctions on Libya. These sanctions, while limited, have been effectively implemented. Libyan purchases of foreign military equipment are prohibited, many of its diplomats have been expelled, and air links to and from Libya are completely severed. However, those sanctions have not resulted in the surrender of those involved.

Our commitment to securing full Libyan compliance with the requirements of UNSC resolutions 731 and 748 is undiminished. Since Libyan suspects were publicly identified in the fall of 1991 in both the Pan Am 103 and UTA 772 bombings, we have coordinated our diplomatic strategy with the British and French governments. We will continue to do so in the coming weeks as we prepare for the upcoming Security Council review of the sanctions. President Clinton has said that if those indicted are not turned over, the U.S. should press for the strengthening of the sanctions to include an oil embargo.

*Question.* Amnesty International estimates that torture or ill-treatment of prisoners occurs in at least 104 countries. In recent years, we've begun to move beyond protesting this practice to trying to provide some measure of treatment, rehabilitation and counseling to its victims. It's a very small program. The U.N. Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture disbursed only \$1.6 million last year, of which about one-third came from the United States.

Can we count on you to take note of the Fund, to support an increase in U.S. contributions and to encourage other nations to contribute more generously, as well?

*Answer.* We are well aware of the Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture and the good work it is doing for the physical and mental welfare of victims of torture and their families. As you probably know, Congress appropriated \$500,000 for FY 1993 as the U.S. contribution to this Fund. We intend to continue to support the Fund actively and will continue to note our support in public statements in appropriate U.N. human rights bodies. We will encourage other States to support the Fund as well.

*Question.* Does the Clinton administration agree that U.S. forces should now be withdrawn from Somalia?

*Answer.* U.S. forces should be withdrawn from Somalia as soon as they have accomplished their mission and the transition can be made to U.N.-led forces (UNOSOM).

The U.S. forces, and those of other countries comprising the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), have a clearly-defined mission, described in U.N. Security Council Resolution 794, of establishing a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations. Once that mission is accomplished, UNOSOM forces will have the mission of maintaining that secure environment.

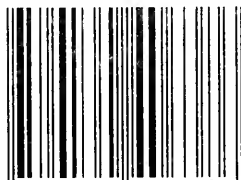
We are in regular consultations with U.N. officials to ensure that the phased transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM will occur with minimum disruption to ongoing relief activities.

*Question.* Does the administration plan to press for a Security Council Resolution authorizing a new U.N. force operating under the same general rules of engagement as those now in effect for the U.S. troops?

*Answer.* We are continuing the consultations begun by the previous administration to secure a Council resolution that would enlarge the U.N. forces in Somalia (UNOSOM), give them greater capabilities, and see that their rules of engagement are commensurate with their responsibilities.

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